



THE AMERICAN THE A



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COVER: Members of Team Eagle, an Army team from North Carolina, pedal their way through the foothills of the Alaska Range. The team was one of 22 four-member, mixed-gender military teams competing at the first annual Armed Forces Eco-Challenge, a 6-day, 150-mile adventure race in the harsh Alaskan interior. See **Page 24**. *James V Carroll*



The American Legion Magazine, a leader among national general-interest publications, is published monthly by The American Legion for its 2.7 million members. These wartime veterans, working through 15,000 community-level posts, dedicate themselves to God and Country and traditional American values; strong national security, adequate and compassionate care for veterans, their widows and orphans; community service; and the wholesome development of our nation's youth.



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A superb issue

Bravo Zulu! The August issue is the finest I've seen in 17 years as a Legionnaire – a smorgasbord of excellence. All the articles were super, especially Richard Parker's "How Elite It Is!" He must be a lonely guy in the faculty lounge at Harvard. Keep up the splendid work.

- Brian E. Haring, Key West, Fla.

Author an elitist?

As I started to read Richard Parker's article "How Elite It Is!"

(August), it seemed to be an entertaining tongue-in-cheek effort. Then I began to wonder if he was serious. Surely Parker would not be advocating labeling or



even prejudice. If the article was not in jest, maybe he should add one more item to his list: when an author encourages his readers to disregard the opinions of people because of their manner of speech or how they dress, maybe – just maybe – he is an elitist too.

- Lee Sweetapple, Springfield, Va.

Not a radical

Pardon me? Roger Kimball and his article "Higher Education's Left Turn" (August) is way off base, and I'm surprised the Legion published it. I am an adjunct professor at Rose College in Midwest City, Okla. I am not a radical, and I am not stripping someone's child of his intellectual and social values. The article should be retracted.

I teach Humanities I and II, Fundamentals of Speech and American Literature. These courses are not even close to Kimball's "Pornography: Writing of Prostitutes." His article attempts to make every college in America look like Keronac's bedroom

look like Kerouac's bedroom. Some things are better left alone.

Charles L. Bettis, Oklahoma City

Prophecy comes true

I read the article "Higher Education's Left Turn" with great interest. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, I was responsible for providing educational support to 195 college ROTC detachments. During my visits to 14 universities, I found that a large number of men were avoiding the draft by attending college as undergraduates and graduate students and by pursuing doctorates. Many of these same men moved into college faculties and were part of the radical groups the author talks about. I believed at the time that this would have a profound effect on the future products of our colleges. I have since supported groups that defend the traditional values of the founding fathers. Thanks to the Legion for printing that article.

- William Guthrie, Winter Haven, Fla.

Colleges not all bad

It is my opinion that Roger Kimball's article missed the mark in a number of ways. It's the typical ranting of a true believer in the far right. To group all colleges together – big and small, public and private – is totally unfair and patently silly. If American higher education is so bad, why do students from all over the world want to come here to attend our institutions of higher education?

- Ray Peck, Havre, Mont.

Investigate and inform

Legionnaires owe gratitude to the editor for printing Roger Kimball's commentary. Some public and private colleges have made

WE WANT YOUR OPINIONS

The American Legion Magazine welcomes letters concerning articles that appear in the publication. Be sure to include your hometown and a daytime phone number for verification. All letters are subject to editing. Send your opinions to:

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You can also contact us via e-mail directly or through the World Wide Web:

e-mail: magazine@legion.org Internet: http://www.legion.org certain "politically correct" courses mandatory requirements for graduation. Thus, no student can avoid having to mouth the preachments of fanatical professors and the crazy authors whose writings are selected instead of the great freedom classics. They give no options to students in the spirit of "academic freedom," which actually protects leftist professors and oppresses students.

Wake up, comrades. Investigate. Inform others. Organize. Challenge your legislators to free America's college students from liberal domination.

liberal domination.

- Fred W. Decker, Ph.D.,

Emeritus Faculty, Oregon State University

Stop civilian tours

After reading "Distinguished Visitor Tours: Are They

Necessary?" (August), I must respectfully disagree with Dan Allsup. His assertion is that since the military is funded by tax dollars,

it must stay open to civilian observation.

I spent 22 years in the military, working primarily with nuclear weapons and missiles. I had to have a top-secret clearance and the "need to know" before I

could "tour" the facility. To allow untrained civilians with no clearance to play with such equipment

is a breach of security.

If we take Allsup's analogy to its illogical conclusion, I should be allowed to tour and operate all equipment that my tax dollars fund. I pay for roads and highways to be built. Should I be allowed to stop by the work site and play with the road graders and dump trucks? My tax dollars support local hospitals. Should I be allowed to visit the operating room and play surgeon? I don't think so.

If civilians want to play with military equipment, let them join the service.

- Ed Burns, Bee Branch, Ark.

Counting on the Legion

National Commander Ray Smith's article "Military Retirees Deserve Fairness" (August) did an outstanding job explaining the

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travesty of the situation faced by military retirees with service-connected disabilities. With so many co-sponsors in the House and Senate supporting legislation to correct this egregious situation, it's difficult to understand why Congress continues to fail to act. Please keep the issue alive. We are counting on The American Legion.

— James M. AuBuchon, Pittsburg, Kan.

A 'gross injustice'

National Commander Ray Smith's article "Military Retirees Deserve Fairness" (August) is the best explanation of the gross injustice perpetrated against military retirees I have ever read. I fought in World War II and the Korean War, I retired in 1971 after 30 vears of service, 16 of which were overseas. VA awarded me a disability rating of 40 percent. As of now, the current concurrent receipt law has cost me \$97,423. I hope Congress will pass a new concurrent receipt law, and I doubly hope it will make the payments retroactive.

- Hyatt W. Moser, El Paso, Texas

No help from GI Bill

I read the article "How the GI



Bill Can Save the World" (August). My wife and I went to buy a home in Levittown, N.Y., in 1949 and were told that due to our color we couldn't.

Save whose world?

- Wendell Beaubian, Trenton, S.C.

GI Bill remarkable

I enjoyed your cover story on the GI Bill. That particular bill, backed by The American Legion, ranks as one of the greatest pieces of government legislation ever. Elitism will always exist, of course, but the GI Bill took a big chunk out of it.

- Richard Hills, Turlock, Calif.

Too many agencies

James H. Anderson's article "Security Without Sacrifice" (August) is a thought-provoking piece, and it addresses an issue that should concern every American. However, Anderson doesn't address the real issue – no one federal agency is in charge. He mentions six agencies that would respond. In fact, there are 12 – including the Red Cross. America is at risk while these agencies squabble over who should be boss and fight over who should control the purse strings. Perhaps this is an issue that The American Legion should get involved with.

- Jerry Headley, Lawrenceburg, Ky.

Protect right to bear arms

I read with interest James H. Anderson's article "Security Without Sacrifice." The country's founding fathers have provided us with the greatest of all means to maintain security: the Second Amendment to the Constitution. The right to bear arms is without a doubt what has kept this country free and secure. Proponents of big government would have us believe otherwise. Yet all one has to do is read history. Every country that has denied its citizens the right to own arms has become the ultimate terrorist. If a government fears the private ownership of arms, it does so only because those who run it cannot control the people against their will.

- Anthony Rice, Stevens, Pa.

Where's America's anger?

I couldn't believe Wayne Kirkbride's article "The Tree of Tyranny" (August), in which he describes how the United States got so mad at the North Koreans for brutally hacking to death two of our officers that we mobilized our forces and went in to cut a tree down.

The story must comfort our boys serving around the world in hot spots like Bosnia. They have to ask themselves just how many of them would have to be killed before we got really mad and cut down two trees. No wonder the world thinks we're a bunch of wimps.

- Ken Rommel, Santa Fe, N.M.

All about money

Sen. Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., says the campaign finance reform bill is "an effort to repeal America's oldest and most important political reform: the freedom of speech." (Big Issues, August) Further, he says the McCain-Feingold bill will "attack the constitutional freedom of citizens, groups and parties to speak out on issues and elections."

Senator, we know you're not protecting our right to freedom of speech. Most people in Washington don't care what we say anyway. You care about us sending you money. We the people didn't just fall off the turnip truck. It's wrong for you to insult our intelligence.

- Richard Rooney, Lake St. Louis, Mo.

'Spahn and Sain'

Dan Allsup's article "A Pitcher for the Ages" (August) brought back memories of when Warren

Spahn dominated the National League along with his talented Braves teammates. I recall Spahn's early days, when he and Johnny



Sain were an incredible duo. In fact, the Bostonian chant in those days was "Spahn and Sain, and pray for rain." When the Braves came to San Francisco, I did everything I could to see them play the Giants.

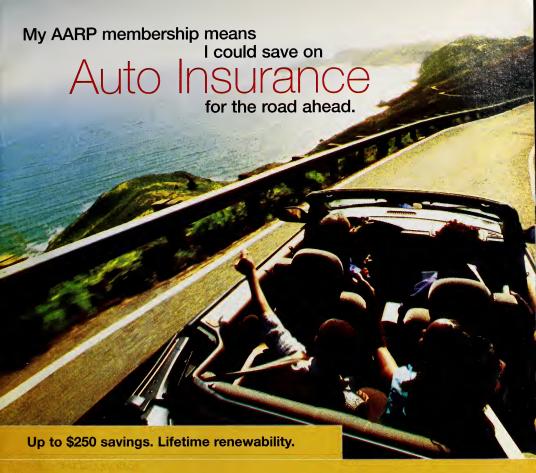
- Jack Sherratt, Burlingame, Calif.

Standing up for values

Last evening I picked up your magazine to read at the laundromat. I had never read it before. I was very impressed with your stand in support of the Boy Scouts ("The Fight for Moral Rights," July). I thought the Scouts were beginning to cave into "political correctness." Your article was enlightening to me. I'm so glad you have the courage to say that homosexual Scoutmasters would be setting the wrong example for boys. I congratulate you on standing for values.

- Brenda Copeland, Washington, Ill.

Correction: The article "Virginia Honors Forgotten Airmen" (Legion News, August) should have identified American Legion Post 16 as the Lynchburg post.



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Embryonic stem-cell research

SUPPORT

Sen. Tom Harkin D-lowa



Nearly three years ago, scientists isolated stem cells from early human embryos. The event marked a significant achievement in science. It held out new hope to families struck by the most cruel and debilitating conditions, such as juvenile diabetes, Parkinson's, Lou Gehrig's Dis-

ease (ALS), spinal cord injuries and Alzheimer's.

As chairman of the Senate subcommittee that funds medical research, I have participated in several hearings on this issue.

I remember the poignant story of John Wagenaar. John is from George, Iowa, and suffers

"We should consult with top scientists to make sure we have an adequate number of stem-cell lines ... Should the existing lines prove insufficient for successful research, we may have to revisit this issue."

from Alzheimer's. He urged Congress to fund stem-cell research.

People like John Wagenaar are why we must move forward with stemcell research. With this research, there can be hope for the thousands of Americans suffering from horrible and debilitating diseases that wither the mind and body and rob us of our loved ones.

That is why I support President Bush's decision to move forward with stem-cell research. Under

the guidelines created by the Bush administration, scientists can apply for federal funds from the National Institutes of Health starting next year, provided they want to experiment with cells from colonies, or "lines," that were created before the president reached his decision.

No federal money would be allowed for research on cell lines from newly destroyed embryos or for the creation of embryos specifically for research.

I want to work with the president and Congress to move this research forward in a robust but ethical manner.

We should consult with top scientists to make sure we have an adequate number of stem-cell lines

to allow this research to reach its fullest potential. Should the existing lines prove insufficient for successful research, we may have to revisit this issue.

Stem cells hold promise for curing so many illnesses that we cannot afford to wait any longer.

to treat humans. These have already been used to

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The Honorable (name) **House of Representatives** Washington, DC 20515 Phone: (202) 225-3121

Rep. Dave Weldon

OPPOSE

The debate about embryo stem-cell research has become more hype than science. First, this research is legal and will continue in the private sector regardless of federal funding. Second, the "potential" benefits of embryo stem-cell research may be giving many false hope,

and little attention has been given to adult stem cells. There is no dispute that the stem cells in a normal-developing embryo produce all human tissue.

So scientists believe that in a culture they may eventually be able to turn these cells into various tissues to treat many diseases, such as Alzheimer's,

Parkinson's and juvenile diabetes because they are more flexible and more reproducible than adult stem cells. However, in a culture and in animal models, these cells have been disappointing.

Studies show that embryo stem cells are more difficult to grow and maintain in the lab, giving rise to chromoso-

mal instability, difficulty in directing the differentiation of cells into desired cell types and potential tumor formation.

treat cartilage defects; restore vision; relieve

systemic lupus, multiple sclerosis and rheumatoid

arthritis; cure severe combined immunodeficiency

uncontrollably." The National Bioethics Advisory Commission report in 1999 stated that embryo stem-cell research was justifiable if there were no less morally problematic alternatives. Adult stem cells are a morally unproblematic and fruitful alternative, which are more tissue-specific but are less likely to reproduce uncontrollably. They are found in blood, bone marrow, umbilical cord blood, fat and skin. Taken from one's own body, they avoid any immunological rejection problems. Adult stem cells have already been used successfully in more than 45 clinical trials

"Adult stem cells are

a morally unprob-

alternative, which

specific but are less

likely to reproduce

are more tissue-

lematic and fruitful

disease; and to treat various types of cancer. Embryo stem-cell research will continue, but any possible treatments from this research are far in the distant future. People need to be better informed about any stemcell success, particularly those currently resulting from adult stem cells.



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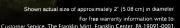
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Campaign finance reform can halt corrupt influence of soft money.

BY SCOTT HARSHBARGER

POREIGN money injected into American election campaigns insults our voters and violates the integrity of the electoral process. The multi-million-dollar fine imposed on Indonesian financier James Riady for his illegal contributions to the Clinton campaign demonstrates that foreign interests really do try to influence elections with illegal money. It is therefore right and prudent for The American Legion to oppose, as it does, foreign contributions to federal election campaigns.

But the fact remains that a larger danger to the system comes from within. For almost 100 years, we as a nation have recognized that the power of money can distort the electoral process, eventually depriving the individual voter of his voice in government. Since 1907, it has been illegal for corporations to contribute to candidates in federal elections, and that prohibition was extended to labor unions in 1947. Abuses of the law during the Watergate period led to the reforms of the early 1970s, but since the early 1990s candidates for national office have in effect nullified the law, using loopholes to defeat its clear intent.

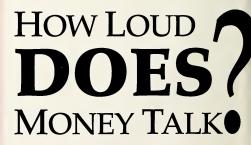
Now we have a system in which hundreds of millions of dollars in so-called "soft" money goes to political parties. Its legal uses are restricted to "party-building" activities like getting out the vote. But hardly anyone even pretends anymore to be obeying the law. The same goes for campaign ads that glut the airwaves during election campaigns, but masquerade as "issue discussion." Their sponsors claim the ads are only explaining policy issues to the public, even when they attack or praise specific candidates.

Why should we care? Not even reformer Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., claims that he can name specific legislative or executive acts bought by bribes made in the form of campaign contributions. What we have is not—or at worst, only rarely—Tammany Hall-style corruption, with politicians taking outright kickbacks for favors rendered. In a way, the present system is worse than that because everyone involved claims to be doing nothing wrong, even as the corrupting effect of special-interest money grows. The fact is money buys "access," and those who enjoy that access get attention to their concerns that the average citizen can only dream about.

Paying for Power. Most office-holders who defend the current marketplace approach to campaign funding actually admit that big contributors get more attention than small ones. These same office-holders deny that there is any quid pro quo, insisting that → see PRO page 12



Campaign Finance:





BY ALAN W. DOWD

ADLAI Stevenson, who won the Democratic presidential nomination in 1956, once observed, "The hardest thing about any political campaign is how to win without proving that you are unworthy of winning."

George Washington and James Madison would

probably agree.

In 1757, as he ran for a seat in the Virginia House of Burgesses, Washington spent a small fortune on rum and whiskey. It's estimated that he bought more than a quart of liquor per voter in that first campaign. He won, and thanks in part to this special campaign expense, he served in the Virginia House for the next 17 years.

James Madison refused to follow Washington's example in his bid for re-election to the same body.

Perhaps predictably, he lost.

This little-known piece of history serves to remind us that money — and what it can buy — has played a role in U.S. politics from the very beginning.

But that role didn't end with bottles and kegs. As political scientists Robert Goidel, Donald Gross and Todd Shields explain in their book "Money Matters," long before the Constitution was ratified, wealthy individuals and political parties alike

->see page 12

Reform tramples CON 1st Amendment

Evidence linking contributions to political corruption rather scant.

BY BRADLEY A. SMITH

SK most Americans about the need for campaign-finance reform, and they are likely to think of foreign donations to the Democrats in 1996, Marc Rich pardons, White House coffees or congressional Republicans repealing health and safety regulations at the urgings of corporate "soft-money" donors. Perhaps it would be better, however, if more Americans thought about Mac Warren and the unintended consequences of campaign-finance regulation.

Mac Warren is a retired military officer and veterinarian who ran for Congress last year. He had served a single term on the city council in Duncanville, Texas, in the mid-1980s but had no other electoral experience. In short, he was a classic "citizen-candidate" — successful in two careers, involved in local politics, a leader in his community but not a career politician. Warren spent approximately \$40,000 in his bid, a substantial percentage of which was his own money. Eventually though, he lost in a hardfought four-way primary.

In the course of the campaign, Warren distributed two brochures touting his views and qualifications, each of which stated in bold letters, "Mac Warren for Congress," and included the campaign's address. However, the literature failed to include the notice required by 2 U.S. Code Section 441d(a)(1), specifically stating who had paid for the literature and whether or not the candidate had authorized it. And thus Mac Warren was hauled before the Federal Election Commission — America's political speech police — and his campaign was fined \$1,000. It was our way of saying, "Thank you for participating. Here's your bill."

In the FEC annals, Mac Warren's tale is not uncommon. For example, last year one candidate for Congress borrowed \$12,000 and used the money to help finance her campaign. Her husband co-signed the note. Unfortunately, federal law — aimed at ending political corruption — prohibits a husband or wife from giving more than \$1,000 to his or her spouse. Since the candidate's husband co-signed the note, half the \$12,000 was deemed to belong to him, so that both he and the campaign were found to have violated the law: he by contributing \$6,000, the campaign by accepting it. Such familial "corruption" is also not uncommon. During my short tenure at the FEC, we have found possible violations of the law in contributions from sons to fathers and from fathers to sons.

Indeed, Americans are now penal- → see CON page 13



all they do, even for their major contributors, is to listen to them. This, of course, leaves out of consideration those citizens who think it should not be necessary to give money in order to have their votes count. But what's really im-

portant is the way candidates try to deny the conflicts of interest that poison both election campaigns and the

operation of our government.

Does anyone really believe that legislators who get thousands of dollars from, let's say, tobacco or pharmaceutical firms are never going to rationalize protecting their interests, even against the interests of his or her constituents? That's what conflict of interest is all about, and it's what existing, now-ignored laws were drafted to minimize. When representatives or senators deny having been influenced by well-heeled constituencies, they may, in their moral blindness, even mean what they say, but this doesn't mean they didn't bend to the pressure.

What I've said thus far might be taken to mean it's always the so-called "special interests" at fault. Not at all. Many Fortune 500 corporations have stopped making soft-money contributions out of frustration with what one former CEO, Ed Kangas of Deloitte & Touche, flatly calls "extortion." No legislator will admit, probably even to himself or herself, that the demands for campaign contributions contain an implied threat, but it's certainly there. That's one reason why so many companies with issues before Congress or the administration still cough up.

Some people argue that the six-figure soft-money contributions lavished on candidates for office simply express the political views of the donors. This is naïve when it's sincere – but more often it's just an excuse to keep the money floating. Charles Keating of the Lincoln Savings and Loan fiasco and Roger Tamraz, who admitted that he donated \$300,000 to Democrats in the 1996 election so he could muster support to build an oil pipeline from the Caspian Sea, had at least the candor to acknowledge their donations served no purpose but to buy influence.

One would think that the lobbyists hired to represent the very interests flooding the system with soft money would be outraged by proposals for campaignfinance reform. And indeed, some of them are. But a former president of the American League of Lobbyists, Wright Andrews, says that many of those opposed to reform rely on soft money just to compensate their cause's lack of merit. Others see a system in which the volume of money exerts a "disproportionate influence on certain legislative actions.

Nevertheless, as Andrews acknowledges, any restriction on campaign contributions seems to imply a restriction on free speech. Supporters of the status quo love to wrap themselves in the First Amendment. But it's not that simple. People concerned for the survival of our representative democracy should take a hard look at what's involved here.

Breakdowns in the Free-Speech Argument. While there are First Amendment implications, money is not speech; it's property. "Free" speech, to which we are all entitled, means saying what we think, without fear of government reprisal. It does not mean freedom to obligate a candidate or office-holder to the contributor of a gigantic donation to an election campaign. → see PRO page 14

"The list of big spenders who lose big grows with every election, from Michael Huffington to Ross Perot to Steve Forbes."

were using "money to purchase newspapers and other printed materials to publish their partisan writings." The resulting clash of ideas produced such influential works as "The Federalist Papers" and "The Anti-Federalist Papers," laying the groundwork for a political system controlled not by the government, but by the candidates and their supporters. In many respects, it's a system we have never abandoned.

It has been almost 250 years since Washington used his deep pockets to win a seat in the Virginia House, yet Americans are still grappling with money's proper place in politics.

Dialing for Dollars. On average, candidates spend \$6.4 million to win a seat in the Senate; a successful House race costs slightly more than \$653,000. Those numbers don't mean much until we consider what it takes to amass that amount of money. A senator needs to raise \$20,454 a week to reach the \$6.4-million mark. A congressman's weekly fund-raising goal is \$6,263.

According to Sen. John Edwards, D-N.C., this fulltilt push for campaign cash has created "a public perception that we are involved in what is wrong

with the system."

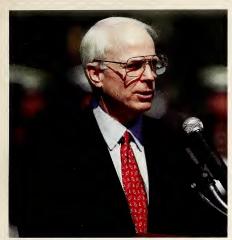
It takes time and effort to meet those goals. Some members of Congress hire consultants to direct their fund-raising efforts; others farm it out to staff. But given the substantial costs of a modern campaign, it's impossible for a senator or representative to avoid altogether what Sen. Robert Byrd, D-W.Va., calls "the grubby, demeaning task of trying to raise money."

As George Geib, a veteran political strategist and professor of history at Butler University in Indianapolis, explains, "The candidate himself has to make the pitch to large donors." Phone calls often suffice, but because federal law prohibits fund-raising on government property, to make those calls members of Congress must leave their offices - and

their official duties.

When in Washington, they can make calls from phone banks and offices at their party headquarters, located just down the street from the Capitol. When Congress is in session, a steady stream of senators, representatives and top staffers flows in and out of the DNC headquarters on Capitol Street and RNC offices on First Street. No one keeps track of how many or how often, and even if they did it wouldn't paint an accurate picture of the time elected officials spend dialing for dollars: Thanks to the cell phone, members of Congress can talk to big contributors from anywhere.

Soft Money. Aiming squarely at the perception that money drives policy and corrupts policymakers, the McCain-Feingold campaign-finance reform bill bans



Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., has made campaign-finance reform one of his top legislative priorities. DoD

so-called "soft money," a key part of most successful campaigns. "Soft-money contributions do not come from average Americans but from the wealthiest sectors of our society," says Sen. Russ Feingold, D-Wis. In his view, soft money "enhances the influence of the wealthy few over the political process."

While it's difficult to define "soft money," a good place to start is by first defining "hard money." According to the Congressional Research Service, existing federal law regulates money in all federal elections by banning union and corporate money, limiting individual contributions and requiring campaigns to disclose receipts and expenditures. "Money raised and spent under these laws to directly influence federal elections is commonly known as hard money," according to a recent CRS report.

The campaign-finance reforms of 1976 and 1979 codified current hard-money limits. These post-Watergate regulations limited individual contributions to \$1,000 per election, per candidate, which could translate into as much as \$5,000, since primaries, conventions, general elections and special elections are each considered separate and distinct elections. (McCain-Feingold would bump that up to \$2,000 per election and allow the new limit to rise with inflation.) The 1970s reforms also capped contributions to parties at \$20,000.

But soft money offers a loophole that enables parties to flout many of the fund-raising regulations that were intended to make the political process more transparent and less susceptible to corruption. Soft money is raised and spent outside the bounds of federal financing laws, ostensibly because it is to be used for political activities at the state and local level. The Hoover Institution's campaign-finance primer explains: "In theory, (soft money) is for generic party-building activities such as getting out the vote." In practice, however, it is used to influence federal elections.

Even after reaching the hard-money → see page 14

ized or prohibited from participating in politics in ways that are not even remotely corrupting. There was a time when Americans would kick off congressional campaigns by passing the hat at a coffee in a private home or

business. Do that now, and one risks running afoul of a host of reporting violations, limits on anonymous and cash contributions, restrictions on the size of contributions, restrictions on the use of corporate property and more. Today, the first thing any American wanting to run for Congress must do is hire a lawyer.

Volunteer at Your Own Risk. It's not just those who run for office who are being harassed and discouraged. In 1998, the FEC advised Connecticut resident Leo Smith that he would have to start filing reports with the commission if he used his home computer to put up a Web site critical of his congresswoman, Republican Nancy Johnson. In September 2000, a former professorial colleague called me to say that some of the students were starting a group called "Law Students for Bush-Cheney." He was excited about being their faculty adviser. "That's great," I said, "but don't spend over \$250, or you'll have to start filing with the FEC."

Letters to the FEC tell a story far different from the hysterical allegations of corruption that highlight most press reporting on campaign finance. "I agreed to be treasurer on a voluntary basis" reads a typical letter, from a losing campaign that was fined for filing late after a volunteer mailed its report to the wrong government agency. "The campaign treasury is still insolvent and I, as campaign treasurer, will be personally liable for any penalty assessed." (It's a dirty little secret that campaign treasurer – often volunteers – are personally liable for campaign-finance violations.)

The treasurer of a county party committee explains "it was getting too big and confusing. I am sorry it was very careless of me to do that, and I hope you will review this and alleviate the fine."

A defeated candidate writes, "I have no political committee. All I want to do is pay my campaign debts and attempt to sever any and all relationships with the FEC. I do not understand how the FEC is of the opinion that I can pay any penalty amount, considering that I have no receipts, only debts for this campaign."

Or another: "The committee has no cash on hand, can no longer raise money and is closed down. Rest assured that the (FEC) process has proved to be punishment in and of itself. At times it has been more than I can bear."

Finally, an all too common sentiment, again from a volunteer: "I will never be acting as treasurer again. It is clear from the complexity of the rules, the quantity of literature sent and expected to be understood in its entirety, and the size of the penalties, it could never be intended that anyone other than a specialist act as treasurer in a campaign."



Second, it is clear that the larger the contribution, the more likely the contributor is to be concerned – not with the right to free speech, but with influencing votes or executive decisions to his or her advantage.

And third, the right to free speech is not absolute. Does anyone have the right to yell "Fire!" in a crowded theater? No one argues such an absurd proposition. Does anyone have the right to create a grave conflict of interest with unrestricted political donations? Not according to the Supreme Court, which has ruled that "the prevention of corruption and the appearance of corruption" can take precedence over the unrestricted dissemination of free speech. So there shouldn't be any question here, either, but those who thrive on soft money do not cite this Supreme Court ruling.

Even the very rich are having second thoughts. The fabulously successful investor Warren Buffett recently wrote about a "fund-raising senator" who had told him that for a \$10 million contribution "you can get the colors of the American flag changed." A few years later, Buffett says, the senator updated his remark. Still in a humorous vein, he commented on the soaring cost of buying influence, saying, "it will now cost you \$20 million dollars and you only get to change one color."

Buffett notes that big donors now evade even the disclosure requirements associated with soft money; those who want to – and some do – engage in a form of "laundering" that keeps their contributions entirely anonymous. Like other sensible proponents of reform, Buffett does not imagine that money is about to be eliminated as a force in politics. But he does believe that tough legislation "will minimize the amount that arrives via the sewer system."

A Solution to Voter Apathy. Those involved full time in the fight for reforms encounter a different kind of obstacle as they seek to enlist new allies. That obstacle is a paralyzing combination of apathy and despair. And the torrent of money is one reason for it. Last year, special interests gave nearly half a billion dollars in unlimited soft-money donations to the political parties, and only a little more than half of Americans of voting age bothered to go to the polls. Many of the non-voters are explicit about it: They see ours as a government of insiders, one in which ordinary folk have no voice. It's no wonder that the children of the baby boomers don't vote.

How can anyone pretend that representative democracy is not threatened when a cynical, alienated citizenry just drops out? And yet the potential for a grassroots powerhouse is everywhere around us. Any organization or group that cannot, or will not, play the soft-money game is a natural ally of all those who want to reduce the influence of special-interest money.

A few additional things need to be clear. First, campaign-finance reform does not mean class warfare or a populist attack on the free-enterprise system. Nor does it mean a consensus of any kind on policy issues. Proponents of campaign-finance reform differ about many things: the balance of environmental and economic equities; the way to improve education; and the size, structure, and weaponry of our armed forces. What unites them is the desire to restore a truly representative government, one in which the issues are > see PRO page 16

limits, an individual or political action committee can continue to contribute under the shadows of soft money. And the parties are growing increasingly dependent on it: Soft monev, which accounted for just 18 percent of the Democrats' and Republicans' total fund-raising in 1992, jumped to 29 percent in 1996 and 40 percent in 2000.

Hard Facts. When money and politics mix, the results can be questionable, like Washington's running

tab in 1757; constructive, like the publication of "The Federalist Papers" in the 18th century; or corrosive, like the loss in public confidence today. But one thing money cannot be is a guarantee of success at the ballot box. For evidence, we don't need to sift

through much history.

In 1992, Republicans outspent Democrats by \$114 million. Yet they lost control of the White House. In 1996, the GOP outpaced the Democrats by \$209 million. Not only did the GOP lose the presidency again, but the party lost seats in the House.

The trend continued into 1998 and 2000, as Republicans raised a combined \$1.1 billion to the Democrats' \$765 million. Yet the GOP lost seats in both the House and Senate, and effectively tied in the race for president.

Individual races paint the same picture.

In West Virginia, Democrat Jim Humphreys spent \$4.5 million more than his opponent. In Texas, Republican Phil Sudan spent three times as much as his opponent. In Florida, Democrat Elaine Bloom nearly doubled her opponent's campaign expenditures. Yet each of them lost.

Rep. Rick Lazio, R-NY, laid down \$33 million in his Senate race against Hillary Clinton, who spent \$7 million less and won. In Michigan, Republican Sen. Spence Abraham doubled up his opponent in spending – and lost.

The list of big spenders who lose big grows with every election, from Michael Huffington to Ross Perot to Steve Forbes.

Obviously, it takes more than money. Geib argues that the formula for getting elected is rather simple: "All it takes is one more vote than your opponent. That sounds obvious, but too often candidates focus on secondary things."

In Geib's view, money is one of those secondary things. He talks about drive, vision and a solid political organization long before he even mentions money to the campaign managers who flock to his course in campaign mechanics, a course he has taught in 10 states for 20 years.



Indonesian business tycoon James Riady paid a record \$8.6 million criminal fine and pleaded guilty to using corporate funds to reimburse contributors to Bill Clinton's presidential campaign. AP

Above all, earning that decisive vote "requires long hours and hard work," Geib says. "The candidate has to understand that politics isn't a 9-to-5 job."

Even so, Geib concedes that money plays a part. "A candidate spends between one-third and two-thirds of his time during the campaign with donors," he estimates. Geib likens drive, vision, organization and money to the four legs of a table. A candidate needs all four to keep his campaign from crashing to the ground. Money alone won't do the job.

Winning Combination. One advantage that outweighs money, vision, charisma and even luck – an advantage that all but guarantees victory in congressional races – is something every candidate wants, regardless of his views on McCain-Feingold. It's incumbency.

According to the CRS, a staggering 97.8 percent of House incumbents who chose to run for re-election won in 1998. They matched that in 2000. On the Senate side, the numbers are almost as impressive: 89.7 percent of incumbents were re-elected in 1998,

82 percent in 2000.

That's not necessarily a bad thing. Just as some people are made to be doctors or teachers or engineers, perhaps some are born to be public servants. As Stevenson and Washington understood, running for office and serving as an elected official require a special set of skills. But we need to be candid about the advantages of incumbency. If we're not, any diagnosis we make about America's political system might miss the mark altogether.

The official duties of incumbents often give them opportunities to score political points back home. For example, when a senator secures funding for a new bridge or military base, voters take notice. Likewise, when a representative helps solve a problem for a constituent at VA, a political windfall occurs: Constituents tell their friends, family, neighbors and lo-

cal newspapers.

Sometimes an incumbent's official duties even give him an opportunity to campaign: When Air Force One delivers the president and a few handpicked members of Congress to the scene of a natural disaster or national crisis, challengers are nowhere to be seen. But incumbents are center stage, and the unblinking eye of the media ensures that voters see the performance.

Indeed, incumbents can make news virtually at will. Newspapers are quick to print an op-ed column by the local congressman or senator. A phone call or a press release can produce a gaggle of cameramen

and reporters out of thin air.

But among the most overwhelming advantages of incumbency are the trappings of the office itself. Members of Congress are allowed to send postage-free mail to constituents in their districts. They are given travel allowances to fly to and from Washington. They are granted office space, allowances for a "mobile office," letterhead, and thousands of calendars and pocket Constitutions, which can gently remind voters that their representatives in Washington care.

Legal restrictions remain on how incumbents can use their offices, what can be sent by

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contributions run the risk of corrupting public officials, of causing them to act on the basis of campaign contributions, rather than the merits of the

legislation.

On the other hand, the intuitively obvious is not always so. For example, it is not intuitively obvious that a 36,000-ton iron ship can float. Working purely on intuition, one might conclude that natural gas – extremely poisonous to humans, odorless and highly combustible – is not suitable for use in the home.

CON

Is This Really a Problem? The evidence that campaign contributions corrupt the political system is rather scant. Political scientists who have attempted to quantify the effects of campaign contributions on legislative activity have all but uniformly concluded that the influence of contributions, while not wholly lacking in significance, is dwarfed by that of ideology and constituent views. Other influences also play a role, including party loyalty, views of staffers, amount and tone of press coverage (both news and editorial), personal friendships with other legislators and more. Big businesses gain their greatest influence through lobbying, which is why they spend more than 10 times as much on lobbying as they do on campaign contributions. Contributors don't give in hopes of changing candidates: rather, donors contribute to candidates who already support their agenda, and candidates use these donations to try to persuade citizens to vote for them — the essence of free speech and politics.

But we don't really need a lot of studies and theorizing to prove that money's influence isn't what it's cracked up to be. Just look around. Does anybody really think that state politics in Virginia, which has no limits on personal or corporate contributions, are more corrupt than politics in New York, which is heavily regulated and includes tax-financed campaigns in New York City? Or that California, which allows corporate contributions, is more corrupt than Illinois, which does not? In fact, can one even tell which states allow corporate contributions and which do not, or which heavily regulate contributions and which do not? If money were really so corrupting, wouldn't

the answers be obvious?

When all is said and done, General Motors alone has gross annual revenues roughly 50 times more than total spending on all political campaigns in America in every two-year election cycle. More is spent to advertise soap than to inform Americans about political candidates. Pharmaceutical companies give away to consumers approximately 10 times as much dollar value each year in free prescription drugs as was spent by all congressional candidates

"Big businesses gain their greatest influence through lobbying, which is why they spend more than 10 times as much on lobbying as they do on campaign contributions."

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debated and decided on their merits, with due regard to the general welfare.

The second thing is the continuing place of money in election campaigns. It is not going to be eliminated, and the goal of reform is not some unattainable

perfection. The task is simply to limit, as far as possible, money's corrupting effects. This is why the cost of television ads, which are now the main instrument of campaigning, has to be brought under control. We need to remember that the broadcasting industry did not discover or create the airwaves. It gets them as a gift from the government, and in return incurs an obligation to serve the public interest. Free time – or at least reduced rates – for campaign advertising would help discharge that obligation.

And finally, there's the incumbency issue. The vast majority of soft money goes to incumbents. It's obvious why; special interests would usually rather invest in office-holders than in opposition candidates, who normally lack name recognition and therefore face an uphill fight for election. One anti-reform theme, which gets louder by the day, tries to stand this fact on its head, but the truth is soft money makes the playing field more uneven.

Anyone who wonders how an individual can make a difference in this struggle should keep in mind a fact of political life. Our elected officials all really want to stay in Washington. Many of them sincerely deplore the conflicts of interest and the demands on their time posed by the continuous chase for money. But they will continue to chase it as long as it's required to be re-elected. When the day comes that they see a corrupt system costing them more votes than they win with soft money, they will support campaign-finance reform. The more they hear their constituents calling for reform, the sooner that day will come.

Scott Harshbarger is the president of Common Cause.

On Capitol Hill, after the Shays-Meehan campaign finance reform bill failed to come up for debate in the House because a procedural rule vote was not passed, Rep. Christopher Shays, R-Conn., right, hugs Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., second from right, as Rep. Marty Meehan, D-Mass., second from left, shakes hands with Rep. Zach Wamp, R-Tenn., left, at the conclusion of a news conference, July 12, 2001, in Washington. AP

"franked" mail, where their rolling billboards known as mobile offices can travel, what can be put on congressional letterhead and so on. Indeed, campaign activities are strictly prohibited inside congressional offices. But it's often difficult to draw a bright line between the official duties and campaign activities of someone whose job it is to serve the very people who determine his political fate. And it's nearly impossible for challengers to offset the built-in advantages enjoyed by a veteran officeholder.

To be fair, the advantages of incumbency don't end with official perks. Sitting members of Congress raise three times as much money as their challengers. Their campaign war chests often deter would-be opponents from even mounting a challenge. Indeed, Washington watchdog Common Cause found that 59 House incumbents ran unopposed in 2000. Another 149 ran "financially unopposed," which means their opponents raised a paltry \$25,000 or less.

In other words, fully 208 of the 435 House races were decided before Election Day. And of the 29 Senate incumbents who ran for re-election last fall, only three were out-raised by their challengers. All three incumbents lost, by the way.

That's the lesson here: Just as money alone cannot guarantee success on Election Day, neither can incumbency. But put the two together, and you've got an almost unbeatable combination.

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combined in the 2000 election cycle, in which the cost of prescription drugs was a major issue.

The FECA Factor. In fact, many Americans are surprised to learn that regulation of political contributions is a recent phenomenon. Prior to 1907, no federal regulation existed. But even after 1907, the laws were so lacking in enforcement that there was virtually no effective regulation. Yet we did pretty well in those days, electing presidents such as Kennedy, Eisenhower, Truman, Coolidge and the Roosevelts. Americans had a higher regard for Congress than today, and giants such as Everett Dirksen and Hubert Humphrey dominated the U.S. Senate.

All that changed only with the passage of the Federal Election Campaign Act in 1971. Since then, and especially since the 1974 amendments to the FECA, campaigns have been more heavily regulated than ever before. What have been the results?

Campaigns have gotten longer, as contribution limits have forced candidates to begin raising money sooner in order to acquire the funds needed for a campaign. This has reduced the opportunities for challengers to enter races late in response to changing circumstances. Incumbents, who have an existing database of contributors, know sooner than challengers of their re-election plans. They usually begin with higher name recognition. Incumbents also have seen their fund-raising advantage climb from less than 2 to 1 before FECA to more than 3 to 1 post-FECA. Lawmakers spend more time raising funds than before.

This new advantage in incumbent fund-raising can be offset by wealthy challengers who can afford to spend large sums of their own money on campaigns. The Supreme Court has ruled that individuals have a constitutional right to spend their own money on their own campaigns. After all, individuals can't corrupt themselves. Thus the House, and particularly the Senate, threaten to become the exclusive homes of multi-millionaires such as Jon Corzine, Mark Dayton, Herb Kohl and Jay Rockefeller.

Meanwhile, the law itself has become a major campaign weapon. Most complaints filed with the FEC come from political partisans. These partisans often don't care if their allegations are serious or not: the object is to force the opposition to devote time to defending the allegations, both before the FEC and before the public. Needless to say, incumbents tend to be better at this game than challengers. "Reform" efforts are also part of political warfare. After the McCain-Feingold campaign-finance-regulation bill passed the Senate in April, the newspapers were full of analyses attempting to predict which parties and groups would win and lose under the so-called "reform." Of course, this is one thing the First Amendment was designed precisely to prevent — government attempting to rig political discussion and elections through its own legislation.

Indeed, the First Amendment seems to be taking it on the chin in this debate. Limits on contributing and spending money for political purposes limit speech. It costs money to communicate with voters. How many newspapers would exist if they were limited to spending \$25,000 a year? That is why the press is

always exempted from campaign regulations. But why should the press have the exclusive right to unlimited communication about political affairs?

House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt a few years ago announced that "free speech" and "healthy elections" were a direct conflict: "You can't have both," he said. During debate on the McCain-Feingold bill this spring, Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., stated he considered a provision of the bill to be an unconstitutional violation of the First Amendment, but then voted for the bill anyway.

Today in America, political speech is more heavily regulated than flag burning, topless dancing, Internet porn and beer commercials. Yet after 30 years of the most heavy-handed regulatory regime in American history, elections are less competitive. Incumbents are more entrenched, voter turnout is down, campaigns are longer and negative, specialinterest influence seems to be up, and grassroots political activity is down. The same "reformers" who gave us the FECA now argue that we need more of the same approach - more regulations, more bureaucrats, more fines and penalties. In fact, one provision of the proposed McCain-Feingold bill goes so far as to prohibit groups such as The American Legion, which do not have political-action committees, from running radio or television ads even mentioning a candidate's name for 60 days before a general election and 30 days before a primary. Thus, if Congress were to debate a bill to radically alter veterans' benefits in September of an election year, the Legion could not run ads urging citizens to call their congressional representatives.

Fear Not the First Amendment. Yes, Americans worry when they hear of contributions from the Chinese military, or pardons to Marc Rich, or large corporate donations. But foreign contributions are already illegal. Nothing in the reformers' proposed bills would stop a future Marc Rich from making contributions to a presidential library or hiring a well-connected lawyer to plead his case. Bribery is already illegal. The added regulation "reform" will graft onto an already complex set of rules. It will make politics even more of an insiders' game, dominated by a small cadre of lawyers, consultants, lobbyists and accountants who understand the system and how to play it.

Perhaps, instead of more regulation, we should return to America's original approach to the matter: a First Amendment that says "Congress shall make no law" abridging freedom of speech. It worked pretty well, after all, for nearly 200 years. In the end, you don't have to be an expert in the Constitution or history to understand that laws regulating political contributions pose a threat to our political liberty. It's enough just to remember Mac Warren.

Bradley A. Smith is the author of "Unfree Speech: The Folly of Campaign Finance Reform" (Princeton University Press 2001), and a member of the Federal Election Commission. The views herein are solely those of the author and not of the Federal Election Commission.

Article design: Doug Rollison

The Bush administration shouldn't wait to remedy the military's pervasive shortages.



How to Fix the

Dilemma

BY BAKER SPRING

CCT TELP is on the way," presidential candidate George W. ■ Bush promised the military during the 2000 campaign. While the military needs help in many areas, addressing the problem of insufficient spare parts for maintaining weapons and equipment is among its most pressing needs. Unless this need is addressed, America's struggle to maintain combat readiness will become a losing proposition. The Bush administration has a moral obligation to U.S. soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines to provide them with the spare parts necessary to keep their weapons and equipment in shape for combat. Otherwise, it may risk putting these young men and women in harm's way under circumstances where their ability to defend both themselves and their nation is seriously impaired.

Mounting evidence demonstrates the military faces a serious shortage of spare parts, and the shortage will get worse quickly if the problem is not addressed now.

Consider the following:

■ A General Accounting Office (GAO) report released in May stated that Army documents indicate the service has on hand only 35 percent of its stated requirements of prepositioned spare parts and has

about a \$1 billion dollar shortfall in required spare parts for war reserves.

- Last year, then-Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon admitted that spare parts for the Air Force were so scarce that otherwise-functional aircraft had to be cannibalized for parts.
- The Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. Vern Clark, testified before Congress in September 2000 that the Navy faced a shortage of spare parts that has only begun to be fixed.
- Sen. Kit Bond, R-Mo., issued a distress call on behalf of the



The Navy's fleet is only 60 percent of what it was during its peak in the 1980s. DOD

Army National Guard on May 11, by reporting that 1,116 helicopters in the National Guard's 1,885-aircraft fleet are grounded due to a lack of spare parts.

 An August 1999 GAO study found that troops with specialized training blame spare-parts shortages as the No.1 reason for leaving the military.

Falling Readiness. Concern about an inadequate supply of spare parts stems from the direct impact the problem has on the military's ability to train and equip forces for combat operations. The nation's military leaders have been expressing concern about declining readiness for years. While there are a variety of causes for the growing readiness problem, the shortage of spare parts is clearly a contributing factor.

The Department of Defense's Quarterly Readiness Report to Congress for the period covering October through December 2000 states that the status of the Army's prepositioned stocks and war reserves is of strategic concern because of a shortage in spare parts. According

"The spare parts shortage is not only a cause of the readiness problem; it is also a symptom of systemic problems facing the military."

to the GAO, the Army has advised the Office of Management and Budget that planned spare-parts funding through 2005 jeopardizes America's ability to fight in two major-theater wars in rapid succession. The "two-war scenario" has been the foundation of the national military strategy for the last decade.

According to a Washington Times article, the Navy sent a message to its Atlantic Fleet air units in October 2000 that stated an inadequate supply of spare parts was impairing combat readiness. The same message reportedly stated: "Present aviation spare-parts funding is not adequate to support the level of planned aviation operations."

Air Force Vice Chief of Staff Lester Lyles testified before Congress in February 2000 that his service's not-mission-capable rate attributable to the shortfall of spare parts increased from 8.6 percent in fiscal 1991 to 14 percent in fiscal 1999. Mission-capable ratings are a direct measure of combat readiness.

Beyond the direct barrier the spare-parts problem poses to achieving high rates of combat readiness is the secondary impact it has in undermining military morale. Those who wear the uniform expend considerable energy on meeting their mission requirements. Nothing undermines the morale of service members faster than assigning them a mission that their experience and common sense tell them is impossible to achieve with the tools at their disposal. Attempts to paper over the inability to meet mission requirements by pretending otherwise only makes the morale problem worse. This is because rank-andfile members of the services quickly lose faith in their superiors. Perhaps this is one reason why Lyles was forced to admit in his testimony that the Air Force failed to meet its retention goals in 1999.

The primary purpose of U.S. military forces is to fight and win the nation's wars. As a result, achieving a high level of combat readiness is the overarching goal for the services as they man, equip, and train their

units. Falling combat-readiness ratings, therefore, represent much more than just a passing concern. They represent a growing risk that the military will be unable to answer the call from the nation if war breaks out. Falling combat-readiness ratings cannot be raised without addressing the spare-parts shortage in terms of both its direct and indirect contributions to the readiness problem.

Systemic Problems in the Military. The temptation exists to propose solving the problem by just spending more money. While that's a necessary part of the solution, it is not the total answer. The spare-parts shortage is not only a cause of the readiness problem; it is also a symptom of systemic problems facing the military. It is important to delve deeper into the problem and look at the contributing factors to the spareparts shortage – beyond inadequate funding in the defense budget.

During the 1990s, the Department of Defense went on a procurement holiday. Budget authority for procurement in fiscal 1998, adjusted for inflation, was roughly one-third of what it was in fiscal 1985. The result has been rapidly aging weapons and equipment. For example, today the average age of an Air



Adm. Vern Clark, chief of naval operations, testifies before the senate Armed Services Committee that shortfalls in maintenance, spare parts and support equipment are impacting readiness. DOD



A Ch-47D Chinook is loaded into a C-5B Galaxy airlifter in Davenport, Iowa. On May 11, Sen. Kit Bond, R-Mo., reported that 1,116 National Guard helicopters were grounded due to a lack of spare parts. DOD

Force aircraft is 20 years. By 2015, the average age will grow to 30 years. Older weapons and equipment require higher rates of maintenance than newer models and consume spare parts at a higher rate. Absent an across-the-board modernization of military weapons and equipment, the expenditure of more money for spare parts will amount to running in place.

The second contributing factor to the spare-parts problem is the increased pace of operations for the services. Again, the Air Force provides a good example. During Operation Allied Force against Serbia in 1999, the Air Force committed more than 500 aircraft and 44,000 active and reserve airmen to the effort. It flew more than 19,000 combat sorties and delivered 70 percent of the munitions. As a result, the Air Force in 1999 saw a greater percentage of its personnel tasked to various operations, including Operation Allied Force, than during either the Vietnam or the Persian Gulf War. This accelerated pace of operations consumes spare parts at a commensurate rate. If this kind of pace is sustained, the services never gain the opportunity to reconstitute their forces. It is during these reconstitution phases that spare-parts supplies are replenished. More money for spare parts, in the context of an increased pace of operations, will not solve the supply problem.

The flip side of the problem of a stepped-up pace of operations is a

reduced force size. The Navy's fleet, for example, is approximately 60 percent of what it was at its peak in the 1980s. Demand for naval forces, however, has not diminished with fleet-size reduction. The result has been an operating tempo for the Navy that has more than doubled. With a shrunken force, the Navy is less able to respond to, and recover from, the operations it is asked to undertake. A larger force represents a stronger foundation for taking on a wider variety of military tasks. The result is that the larger force can accommodate the accelerated rate of consumption of items such as spare parts without a dramatic reduction in combat readiness. While there is wisdom in the observation that the military should favor quality over quantity, the old saying that quantity is a quality all its own remains an essential truth. Increased funding on spare parts will ultimately have a greater impact on readiness if it is spread across a large force.

Even personnel matters, particularly in the area of retention, contribute to the spare-parts problem. A September 2000 article in the San Diego Tribune reports that an unidentified sailor told the Navy Inspector General, "Even if you gave me all the parts I need, I don't have the people and the talent to install them." Lyles, during his February 2000 testimony before Congress, specifically acknowledged that low retention among maintenance technicians was a contribut-

ing factor in a 9.9-percent decline in mission-capable rates in the Air Force during the 1990s. The lesson here is that increased spending for spare parts, unless accompanied by improved pay and benefits for military personnel, may not resolve the negative impact of the spare parts problem on readiness.

A Comprehensive Solution. The spare-parts shortage cannot be treated as a matter isolated from the broader problems facing the military. Further, merely resolving the spare-parts shortage is not the essential purpose. Concern over spare parts stems from the negative impact the shortfall has on readiness. Improving readiness should motivate the search for solutions, which dictates adopting a more comprehensive approach that treats spare-parts shortages as both a contributor to low readiness ratings and a symptom of other problems that also undermine readiness.

This comprehensive approach should include the following steps:

■ **Increase funding.** The defense budget the Bush administration inherited from the Clinton administration is inadequate. Defense budget analysts Daniel Goure and Jeffrey M. Ranney, in a 1999 assessment published by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, found that the Clinton budget was short roughly \$100 billion annually in terms of funding its defense program. The Bush administration has taken a "go-slow" approach to resolving the Department of Defense's funding shortfall, allowing Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to undertake a strategic review. It was not until May 31, 2001, that Department of Defense Comptroller Dov S. Zakheim announced that the Bush administration is requesting supplemental funds for defense in the current fiscal year. The \$5.6 billion supplemental request will not fully resolve even the most immediate funding needs for the military, let alone address the broader problems. Even the spare-parts problem received minimal attention. While some of the money - less than \$1.5 billion - is to go toward covering aircraft operating

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costs and plane and ship overhauls, it is far short of what is needed. The Bush administration should have requested \$11 billion in additional funds over both fiscal years 2001 and 2002 for training and spare parts alone, according to a recent report by the Heritage Foundation.

■ Maintain the size of the military. The military cannot afford an additional force-structure reduction. Doing so will only extend the spare-parts and readiness problems stemming from a force that is stretched thin. The size of the military is a question Rumsfeld is addressing in his strategic review. Given that the military is now roughly 40 percent smaller than it was at

the end of the Cold War, Rumsfeld should reject recommendations for an additional round of force reductions. Maintaining the size of the force will allow the breathing space necessary to recover from operations where it is using spare parts at a higher rate. This will also improve overall readiness by giving a relatively larger number of military units more time for training.

- Reduce the pace of operations. Even with a military of today's size, the pace of operations is too high. Press reports indicate that Rumsfeld is looking for ways to reduce the military's pace of operations, by among other things reducing the U.S. commitment in the Balkans. If Rumsfeld is successful in this area, he will take an important step toward easing the spareparts shortage by reducing the rate at which the military will use spare parts.
- Modernize equipment. The spare-parts shortage will get worse as long as the Department



Airman 1st Class Michael Primmer adds a bomb sticker to an F-16 indicating the aircraft has flown another mission in support of NATO Operation Allied Force in Yugoslavia. An increased pace of operations has contributed to the spare-parts problem. US AIF Force

of Defense continues to defer modernizing its weapons and equipment. As long as older systems are not replaced, the demand for spare parts will increase, and readiness will decline. Unfortunately, the supplemental request announced in May fails to address the needs for modernization. In fairness to the Bush administration, it is impossible to solve the current modernization crisis in a single supplemental request and there is logic to reviewing the full array of options for undertaking the large-scale modernization that is necessary. Nevertheless, it has missed an important opportunity to initiate its modernization program in areas where the needs are undeniable.

■ Improve the quality of life for military personnel, including increased pay and benefits. A mountain of spare parts will not resolve the shortage problem if there are inadequate numbers of trained technicians to install them. This means that improving the retention of technicians is a critical component of a policy for resolving the spare-parts

shortage and its negative impact on readiness. In this area, the Bush administration is getting it right. It is proposing increased pay and benefits for members of the armed services, including initial steps in the supplemental appropriations request. Improving pay and benefits, however, is not a complete answer. Improving quality of life also means reducing the pace of operations. Improving morale and the rank-and-file military's faith in its leadership means creating the best opportunity possible to fulfill the missions they are assigned. Taken together, these steps should improve recruitment and retention of the people necessary to achieve a force ready for combat.

A Matter of Urgency. The

Bush administration was right to promise the military that help is on the way. A necessary part of such help is resolving the problem posed by the shortage of spare parts and its negative impact on readiness. While the Bush administration likely understands that addressing the spare-parts problem and decreased readiness require comprehensive changes in defense policy, it has been slow to recognize that the problems are immediate. Further, its promises have raised expectations in the military. As time passes, frustrated members of the military may arrive at the conclusion that President Bush has broken his commitment to assist them and may leave the service. This would have devastating consequences for the military and national security. The Bush administration may be determined to provide help to the military, but it must recognize that it cannot afford to wait.

Baker Spring is a national security research fellow at the Heritage Foundation. He received a master's degree in national security studies at Georgetown University.

Article design: Doug Rollison



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North Alaska!

STORY AND PHOTOS BY JAMES V. CARROLL

HEY wait under the fading light of the midnight sun—gladiators all—straddling their wheeled steeds, casting long shadows on the airfield tarmac, anticipating the deafening report of a nearby 105mm howitzer signaling the start of their journey. They will traverse some of the harshest terrain Alaska's interior can offer. It will tease them, taunt them and torture them. But it will not break them.

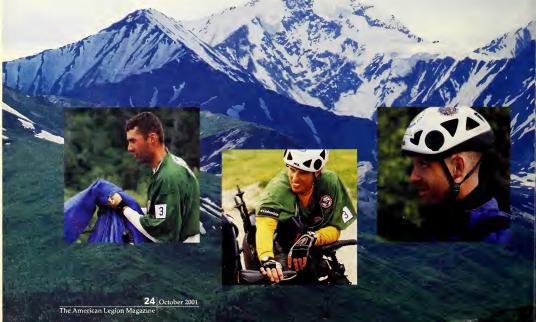
The tension is palpable. Some of America's finest military male and female athletes are putting months of training on the line. The time for talk is over. Some shuffle their feet. Others alternately squeeze and loosen their grips on handlebars of mountain bikes that will carry them through the first leg of their odyssey. Their eyes reflect blank resolve – that myopic stare soldiers sometimes exhibit moments before a battle – seeing nothing, feeling everything.

Boom! It begins.
Armed Forces Eco-Challenge
2001, a 150-mile adventure race
testing the physical prowess, technical expertise, mental toughness
and practiced teamwork of 22
mixed-gender U.S. military teams
from 21 states and Germany, is
officially under way.

Team American Legion completes Armed Forces Eco-Challenge

Within seconds, the competitors disappear into lingering howitzer smoke - away from Allen Airfield and Fort Greeley, into the Alaskan wilderness, shadows in tow. It will be nearly 61 non-stop hours before the winning team crosses the finish line at Ouartz Lake Recreation Area, near Delta Junction, Alaska - where in the coldest winter months residents toss hot coffee into the air and watch it freeze before it hits the ground. There will be no losers. Competition is accomplishment. Completion is victory.

The AFEC race last June was a result of collaboration between



Mark Burnett, creator of the television show "Survivor," and Bonnie Carroll, founder of Tragedy Assistance Program for Survivors. TAPS is America's only veterans' service organization providing around-the-clock peer support, crisis intervention, caseworker assistance and grief-counseling referral, along with other services to family and friends of service members who have died while in the armed forces.

Out of 250 applicants, TAPS was chosen to host the first-ever qualifier for the world-renowned Eco-Challenge Expedition Race, created and produced by Burnett. The event in Alaska was a precursor to the global competition in New Zealand, set to air in April on USA Network.

As a non-profit organization, TAPS relies on donations and funds raised through charity events. The Armed Forces Eco-Challenge will serve as an annual benefit event for TAPS, which means the winning team competes as Team TAPS in the following global Eco-Challenge.

Competing in the inaugural Armed Forces Eco-Challenge was Team American Legion, unique among teams at AFEC in that its members met on the Internet.

"We found each other on the AFEC Web site message board and met face-to-face only once prior to the race," explained team leader Army Reserve Capt. Mary Van Dyke. "At the time, we were spread out over three states – Indiana, Arizona and Oregon. We trained as a team one time."

Van Dyke and Army Reserve Capt. Stephen Kreis are from Pennsylvania. Army Capt. Michael Dunlavey is from Oregon, and Army Staff Sgt. Don Kent is from Arizona. All are Legion members. They sought out The American Legion for sponsorship, and a partnership was struck.

"We believe the Legion's dedication to veterans and their families is as important as the TAPS mission of supporting armed forces survivors," Van Dyke said before the team departed for Alaska. "We are grateful to The American Legion for believing in our diverse team enough to sponsor us. Legion support gives us time to concentrate on the race that faces us – whatever that may be."

What faced Team American Legion and other competitors during the race were indescribable and punishing obstacles. They crossed and rafted raging whitewater rivers, picked their way

"It is not the critic who counts, not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled, or where the doer of deeds could have done better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by the dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs and comes short again and again; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions and spends himself in a worthy course: who at the best, knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who, at worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly; so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory or defeat."

Theodore Roosevelt ,
 Paris Sorbonne, 1910



"The stuff was so thick I didn't think we would ever get out of it. It got so bad at times I thought I was going to break down and cry."

- Army Capt. Michael Dunlavey

along craggy mountainside trails, climbed snowcovered mountain peaks, peddled tedious biking routes and clawed and navigated their way though thick stands of underbrush and alders.

"The stuff was so thick I didn't think we would ever get out of it," Dunlavey said as the team emerged from a grueling mountain leg of the race. "It got so bad at times I thought I was going to break down and cry.'

Indeed, the undergrowth was so thick that competitors were unable to gage their steps on the popcorn-like tundra. What seemed firm footing often ended up being a knee-deep plunge into the spongy Alaskan earth.

"We couldn't see our feet, we couldn't see landmarks to navigate, and there were times the brush was so thick and tall we couldn't even see the sky," Kent said. "We wondered at times if we were ever going to get out of that stuff. It was horrible."

Adding to the difficulty of the



Don Kent rests on a team storage container at a checkpoint between racing legs. The team had just crossed the Delta River in small, rubber pack rafts.

trails nearly impossible to traverse at times. Glacier-fed rivers were hazardous and too cold to bear for any length of time. And just the sight of the



over a bunch of little insects." Team after team clearing the trekking leg - on foot - complained about the attacking mosquitoes. They had been warned by race officials, but at least a couple teams chose to reduce weight by not carrying insect spray. It was a mistake they soon would regret. Unprotected skin became an irresistible treat for the blood-sucking mosquitoes and pure torture for their human victims.

head-high thicket over the com-

pass point was enough to cast a pall over approaching teams. But

terrain was not the worst of it.

underbrush at the end of the mountaineering leg. "You don't know what time it is, but you

keep thinking you can push on

ness falls. But darkness never

sleep on the mountain, but we

No, it wasn't the permanent

daylight, harsh conditions or tor-

turous undergrowth that were the

worst of it. It was the mosquitoes,

"Physical obstacles and sleep

deprivation were a piece of cake

were going to be mosquitoes, but

I just didn't know we were going

to be in such pain with frustration

compared to the mosquitoes,'

Van Dyke said. "I knew there

hordes of mosquitoes. That was

comes. We tried to get some

didn't get much."

the worst of it.

for a few more miles before dark-

Constant daylight was not the worst of it, either. Day after day

"The mosquitoes were everywhere," Kreis said. "They were in my face and all around my body. Swarms of them attacking. I couldn't concentrate at times because they were so bad. I don't know how people could stand it without insect spray. I know we used all we had and wanted more.'

journey were steep mountain

Mary Van Dyke and Stephen Kreis carry their mountain bikes across an icy mountain stream three hours after the AFEC race's midnight start.



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The endurance journey began under the blood-red midnight sun of the summer solstice at Allen Army Air Field at Fort Greeley. Competitors navigated south to Trims Camp. Along the way they traversed backcountry by bicycle trails, crossed waist-deep whitewater streams as they held their bikes above their heads and peddled over access roads of the Alaska Pipeline past Black Rapids to Trims Camp checkpoint. Competitors then strapped on backpacks preparing for a 24-hour, 12mile, 5,200-foot ascent onto, and descent off, the barren and snowy Item Peak in the Alaska Range.

Once back in the foothills teams again hopped on bicycles to begin a 50-mile biking and trekking leg. They traveled north before dismounting and blowing up pack rafts to cross the Delta River. Safe-



ly on the western shore, teams negotiated on foot – with varying degrees of success and speed – soggy and uneven ground of the Alaskan tundra. Then once more they bushwhacked their way through thick undergrowth before again rafting across the Delta River near Donnelly Dome.

Leg 5 took teams along the Richardson Highway to Jarvis Creek, ending a final mountain bike course.

At Jarvis Creek, near the point where the roiling chocolate-milk tributary dumps into the equally muddy Delta River, competitors climbed into 14-foot inflatable rafts. River guides aboard, the rafters threaded their way through narrow channels hoping to avoid countless dead ends along the 11-mile river route.

At the confluence of the Delta and Tanana Rivers, teams disembarked to begin a final fivemile trek. The concluding leg forced competitors through more brush, over Bert Mountain and across the tundra before crossing the finish line.



Above left: Mary Van Dyke adjusts an insole of her shoe while Stephen Kreis studies course directions for the next race leg. Above right: Mike **Dunlavey checks** wrappings on his feet after a 50mile bike and trekking leg. Left: Don Kent. Dunlavey, Kreis and Van Dyke carry their raft after an 11-mile trip down the Delta River.

"We believe the Legion's dedication to veterans and their families is as important as the TAPS mission of supporting armed forces survivors."

- Army Reserve Capt.

Mary Van Dyke

Of the original 22 teams, five came in missing members due to injury and were disqualified. One team did not finish at all. Team American Legion finished 12th, completing the race nearly 48 hours after Team Speedy Mail, the winning Air Force team, stationed in Alaska.

"We met our goals," said Van

r goals, said van Dyke, after sipping champagne that was awaiting each team at the finish line. "We were not able to train together. Maybe that's what it took to win here – practice and team work."

Kreis agreed. "We didn't know

each other, so we were reluctant to push each other very hard. But I also think that's why we finished as well as we did. We saw other teams push too hard, and that probably caused some of their disqualifying injuries. Our goal was to finish as a team, and we accomplished that."

Sheer physical stamina helped Team American Legion complete its mission, but in times of despair the team's motivation was more spiritual. Each AFEC team dedicated its efforts to the memory of a fallen military comrade. Team American Legion chose Capt. Milton Palmer who, along with three other trainees, died serving his country in a 1995



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"Your body gets fooled. You don't know what time it is, but you keep thinking you can push on for a few more miles before darkness falls.

But dark never comes."

- Army Reserve Capt. Stephen Kreis

accident at the Army Ranger Training School. "I thought of Milton often during the race," said Kreis, Palmer's classmate at the Citadel. "Especially yesterday. Yesterday was a hard day."

Difficult day or not, just thinking about Palmer kept the team focused, Van Dyke said.

"We did similar things to what he was probably doing when he died. We walked through a lot of swampy water, and that's when I thought of him a lot. He was probably just standing there doing what his instructors told him to do – just waiting, thinking about 'Are they going to come back? I can't move. They told me not to move.' And the instructors coming back and finding him ..." Van Dyke said, her voice breaking with emotion as tears welled in her eyes. "I just know Milton was with us on the trail, encouraging us to keep moving forward."

There were other inspirational moments as well. TAPS volunteer Air Force Capt. Misty Sorensen and Wayne Theurer, an Army Guardsman, had erected a large American flag high on an 18-foot pole to lead competitors to a re-

E

Right: Michael **Dunlavey adjusts** gear prior to a bicycle leg of the 150-mile AFEC adventure race. Below: Don Kent demonstrates required rafting and swimming skills during preregistration activities at China Lake **Recreation Area** near North Pole. Alaska.



mote checkpoint along the 35-mile hiking segment through tundra, thick with mosquitoes. Many of the teams crossing the finish line mentioned the lift they got when they first spotted Old Glory flying in the remote environs of the Alaskan wilderness.

"It was amazing. It gave me goose bumps when I saw the flag. It was probably the most emotional moment of the race for me," Van Dyke said. "It was the prettiest welcome sign I could ever imagine."

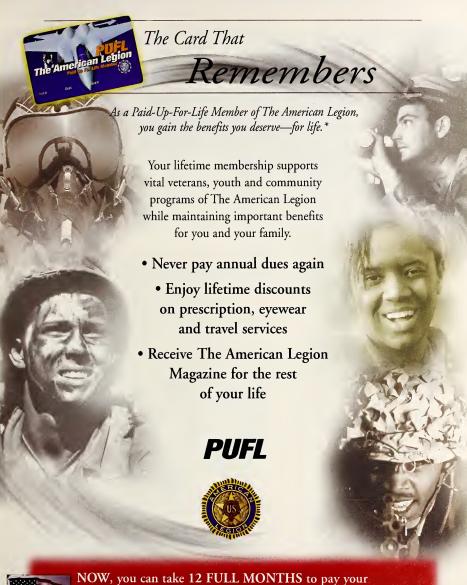
Sorensen and Theurer presented the flag to TAPS as "the first flag to fly over an Armed Forces Eco-Challenge." It will fly over every AFEC, Carroll said.

The closing ceremony for AFEC took place in Heritage Park on Eielson Air Force Base and was sponsored by The American Legion. An old-fashioned picnic barbecue, an awards presentation and a few surprises from event coordinators highlighted the evening.

"I was overwhelmed by the dignity, honor and pride displayed by all racers," said Roman Dial, the designer of the 150mile course and 20-year veteran of Alaskan adventure racing. "I was amazed at the ferocity with which the competitors devoured the course." The quality of competitors also was impressive, Dial said. Leading teams were five hours behind his predicted superfast finish, but teams that trailed at the end of the race actually arrived at the finish line 12 hours sooner than he projected.

Dial said Armed Forces Eco-Challenge 2002, also scheduled to be in Alaska, will contain a more difficult mountaineering section, more water navigation, more hiking, less mountain biking, more need for sleep, and more darkness. He also said he hoped fewer mosquitoes would be in attendance. The 2002 race is expected to take place in September.

Team Speedy Mail, an Air Force Team based in Alaska, crossed the finish line in 61 hours, 7 minutes after having slept only 25 minutes during the course of the race. Team Army CIOR Pentathlon finished second, two hours, 8 minutes later. Team American Legion crossed the finish line in 12th





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place, completing the course in 108 hours, 10 minutes.

Race director Richard Shaw took the stage to make a surprise announcement: Eco-Challenge Productions informed him it plans to make a slot

available at the global finals for the second-place team - Team Army CIOR Pentathlon. So for this year anyway, two Armed Forces Eco-Challenge teams have the opportunity to tackle New Zealand and represent TAPS and the U.S. military at the interna-

tional adventure

race.

It also was announced the Armed Forces Eco-Challenge would be televised in a twohour special by USA Network in December.

Following the closing ceremonies, Van Dyke thanked



Team American Legion crosses the finish line at Quartz Lake Recreation Area 108 hours, 10 minutes after starting the 150mile race.

Bonnie Carroll, left,

founder of TAPS, assists

Marine Gunnery Sgt.

Mathew Moddy at Trims

The American Legion for its support of Team American Legion.

"Without the enthusiastic support by The American Legion we would not be here - at the finish line and at these ceremonies," Van Dyke said. "The Legion has made a

> difference in our lives as it has for every Legionnaire. We are proud to have represented The American Legion and all of America's veterans."

James V. Carroll is an assistant editor at The American Legion Magazine.

Article design: Holly K. Soria

TAPS: Helping survivors cope

Husband's death spurs Bonnie Carroll to create a network for grieving military families.

Months after her husband was killed, Bonnie Carroll had fallen so deeply into despair that she begged for her own life to end. She was paralyzed by fear,

overcome with pain. Her life was irreversibly changed.

"I had seen Tom off at the hangar that morning, along with seven other soldiers going on the flight," Carroll re-calls nearly nine years later. Two hours later the pilot called in his approach to the tower. "But the plane never broke out of the clouds that hovered low above the airstrip," she says.

Hope soon turned to anguish when she learned that the missing plane crashed into a jagged mountain peak at 200 mph. There were no survivors. Tom Carroll and seven military comrades died instantly. A routine flight turned into a life-altering tragedy for the families and friends of the eight fallen Army National Guard soldiers.

Camp checkpoint. Each year, as many as 2,000 military families feel the pain of losing loved ones. The military has support services, but survivors learn that gaps often exist once official casualty case files are closed. Carroll ultimately sought support from those who knew what she was going through - those who also lost loved ones in the crash that killed her husband.

"In the months following the loss of our loved ones, we turned to various grief support organizations for

comfort," Carroll says. "But when we finally turned to each other for comfort and to share common fears and problems, we found strength and we truly began to heal. We realized that the horror we shared, losing a loved one in the line of military duty, was far different from other types of loses.

"We discovered we shared identical patterns of pain, fear, sadness and emptiness. But more than

that, we could say things to each other that we hadn't said to anyone else: not the therapists who patiently listened, not the doctors who wrote prescriptions for anti-depressants and not to family members who felt so helpless.

Out of that healing came Tragedy Assistance Program for Survivors, a national non-profit organization providing services to all those who have lost a loved one while serving in any branch of the armed forces. TAPS, a network of peer support for military survivors, is also a referral point for grief counseling options around the country. The organization has a crisis intervention team whose members have critical incident stress experience and caseworker assistance to help families find answers in a complicated bureaucracy long after the

official files have been closed.

TAPS offers another dimension to trauma recovery, Carroll says. It's the opportunity for survivors to reach out and help each other heal.

Those in need can call 24-hours a day at (800) 959-8277 or contact the TAPS Web site at www.taps.org for more information.

- J.V.C.



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"I bought it for my husband, but it was going to benefit me. He snored so much, so loud that I felt I almost needed to go outside and apologize to my neighbors. It was that loud... He's been using it for 6-8 months. [The change] happened overnight, it was immediate.

-- S. Fernandez

"I tried nose drops and those breath things you stick across your nose. Nothing worked. I had tried other products on the market, and those didn't work. D-Snore works.

-- Dorothy Burks



Why parents are afraid to be parents.

BY KAY S. HYMOWITZ

FEW weeks ago at a dinner at my daughter's school, I sat next to the father of a friend of hers. He's a man I knew to be a loving husband and a devoted parent. I wish I could say something similar about his talent as a dinner companion. During the course of the dinner, his 10-yearold daughter called his cell phone two different times to complain loudly enough for others at the table to hear - that she needed a new pair of soccer cleats and to demand that he promise to take her as soon as possible to purchase a new pair. On both occasions, I heard him weakly try to explain that he was at a dinner party and could talk about this later. Not only did she not listen, but she also continued her harangue, which he dutifully endured. When he finally finished his calls, he apologized. "I couldn't get her to hang up," he said. "I didn't know what to do." I wondered silently whether his cell phone had an off button.

My dinner companion is hardly alone in his uncertainty. Many parents today are unsure what to do and say to their children when it comes to things like manners and morals. About a year ago, while researching an article about school discipline, I spoke to teachers, administrators and school lawyers around the country. I asked what is making their jobs more difficult today. Their answers were almost always the same: parents. School officials say parents aren't accepting their roles as partners with educators to civilize the next generation. They often come in with a "my-childright-or-wrong" attitude. These parents have little patience for the shared rules of behavior required to turn a school into a civil community, not to mention those who might teach their own children the necessary limits to self-expression.

"You and your stupid rules." I've heard that a hundred times," sighs Cathy Collins, counsel to the School Administrators of Iowa, speaking not, as it might sound, of 16-year-olds, but of their parents. Even 10 years ago when a child got into trouble, parents assumed the teacher or principal was in the right.

"Now we're always being second-guessed," says a 25-year veteran of suburban New Jersey elementary schools. "I know my child and he wouldn't do this" or, proudly, "He has a mind of his own." Those lines are often repeated.

Don't Harm the Children. Why is it that so many parents seem reluctant to act like, well, parents? I believe it is because they are laboring under a misguided set of ideas about what children are like and what adult obligations toward them are. These ideas - reinforced by experts, educators, judges and the media - boil down to this: children are rational, self-aware, morally mature and autonomous. They need affection, to be sure, and they need to be encouraged to express themselves and to make independent decisions. But, according to the experts, they don't need adults to teach them the rules of the world they have so recently entered. In fact, such instruction could be harmful to their self-esteem and independence of mind.

Consider, for instance, the ideas parents hear from some of America's education experts. Throughout history, human beings have imagined education as a process whereby an experienced and intelligent teacher passes knowledge considered meaningful to that culture on to inexperienced youth. When teachers required students to take specific courses and work on specific homework projects, and when they gave children gold

stars, prizes or high grades, they were dramatizing cultural meaning for the young who often fail to find its demands immediately

pleasurable.

But according to many of today's education authorities, this is the dreaded "control model." They argue that we should empower children to choose what to learn, how to learn it and even, in some cases, how they should be graded. Despite the recent calls for testing and high standards, a 1998 study from Public Agenda found that only 7 percent of education professors think teachers should be "conveyors of knowledge who enlighten students with what they know." Ninety-two percent believe teachers should only "enable students to learn on their own."

In rejecting the "control model," educators go far beyond encouraging the critical thinking necessary in a democratic society; they hand over curriculum choices to children, announcing, in effect, that they are at a loss to say what it is the young really need to learn. The new "Standards for the English Arts," published by the International Reading Association and the National Council of Teachers of English, says that "children's perspectives, interests and needs (should) shape classroom discussion, writing projects and curriculum choices.

Today's parents grew up in a world that had already begun to seriously question the universal distinction between adults and children.



Last fall at a curriculum conference, my daughter's sixth-grade life science teacher showed how this approach works in practice. He announced that instead of deciding what scientific knowledge was important for his students to have, he had asked his classes what they wanted to learn. The answer was unanimous. These budding adolescents wanted to study the human body! So he had reorganized the year's curriculum in accordance with their wishes. The message is clear: the kids, not the adults, decide what is worth learning.

Some education theorists even believe that kids should determine their own grades. Harvard psychologist Howard Gardner, best known for his theory of multiple intelligences, has initiated a project titled the "Arts PROPEL" program for middle- and high-school students using student portfolios, an increasingly popular way to judge performance, to replace tests. The student is asked to bring about change in herself," Gardner writes, "rather than to wait for change to be imposed from the outside ... and to accept the possibility that assessment may be the burden not of the teacher primarily but of the learner herself."

In such a world, adults are without a clear job description. Teachers are not even supposed to be teachers. They are

> "facilitators," "managers of instruction" or "coaches." Seymour Papert, author of "The Children's Machine," views teachers as "co-learners." In some schools, students grade them in "reverse report cards."

Blurring the Line. This view of children as the competent and able equals of adults began to emerge in the late 1960s, when many of today's younger parents were themselves children. It was especially noticeable in the prevailing legal thinking and, indeed, in many of the major legal decisions of those years. In a 1973 essay made famous during the 1992 presidential election, Hillary Rodham argued that it was necessary to blur the traditional bright-line boundaries between adults



Parents aren't accepting their roles as partners with educators to civilize the next generation. They often come in with a "my-child-right-or-wrong" attitude.

and children when she called for a redefinition of childhood in the eyes of the law.

"The legal status of infancy, or minority, should be abolished and the presumption of incompetence reversed," she wrote, in matters that "significantly affect the child's future." Similarly, around that time, the chairman of the American Bar Association's section on Rights and Responsibilities proposed that "all legal distinctions between children and adults be abolished."

That's almost what happened. By the late 1960s, the Supreme Court had made a number of decisions relating to children and adolescents that, if the justices didn't do away entirely with "legal distinctions between children and adults," they took major steps in

that direction.

The first and most important, In re Gault, granted minors – for the first time since the founding of the juvenile court 70 years earlier – the right to counsel, the right to remain silent and the right to confront witnesses.

In 1969 *Tinker v. Des Moines School District*, the court extended to students the "constitutional right to freedom of speech or expression" inside schools.

Over the next decade, several other major decisions granted female minors the right to seek abortions without getting permission from, or even notifying, parents. "There is no factual justification for treating 14-year-old women differently, in this regard, from 18year-old women," the American Psychological Association wrote in an amicus brief in one parental notification case during the 1980s. The brief revealed that the nation's experts agreed with the transformation then brewing: "There is no basis for the differentiation of adolescents from adults on the ground of competence alone.'

In other words, today's parents grew up in a world that had already begun to seriously question the universal distinction between adults and children. When the Supreme Court granted children many of the constitutional rights that up until then had been a privilege of adult citizenship, they were clearly trying to extend to the young legal protection against arbitrary power due all Americans. But in doing so, they unwittingly raised doubts about the role of adults in the socialization of children. If a 15-year-old has a constitutional right to free speech, for instance, how can a teacher justify telling him to stop using foul language or verbally harassing his fellow students? If a 14-year-old can get an abortion without telling her parents, then on what grounds can parents expect to exercise some control over what clothes she wears or where she is going Saturday night?

Role Reversal. Looking back, it would be a serious mistake to blame judges and educators as the reason my dinner companion did not know what to do when confronted with his daughter's rude and egotistical behavior. The truth is, many other areas of American society have helped cast doubt on the traditional role of adults in civilizing children. The most powerful forces have been the media. A while back, I found an ad for Time that perfectly captured the media's message about parents and children and the ideas of educators we already saw. It showed a middle-aged man with a confused look on his face sitting next to a scoffing teen-ager who had his hands stuffed in his pockets.

"It's time we had a talk about

sex," the text began.
"OK, Dad, what do you want to know?" it continued.

Parents are clueless and foolish, and never more so than when they try to act like parents who actually have something to teach their children. Don't they realize that kids know it all, and what they don't know, they certainly can't learn from their parents?

The airwaves are full of what the American Psychological Association might call 8-, 10- and 14year-old men and women having to put up with ridiculous, ineffectual adults. Fathers bear the brunt of the mockery. Think of Tim Taylor of "Home Improvement," Al Bundy of "Married With Children" and most of all, Homer Simpson of "The Simpsons."

Not that women are immune to media put-downs. The critically acclaimed series "Gilmore Girls" concerns a 32-year-old single mother, Lorelai Gilmore, and her 16year-old daughter, Rory. But don't make the mistake of thinking of the teen-ager in this series as the child. It's the mother who picks fights with her daughter over borrowed sweaters and the size of their "boobs," makes pop-culture allusions as obsessively as any fan club teeny-bopper, and mugs and pouts during her weekly adolescent-style tiffs with her own parents.

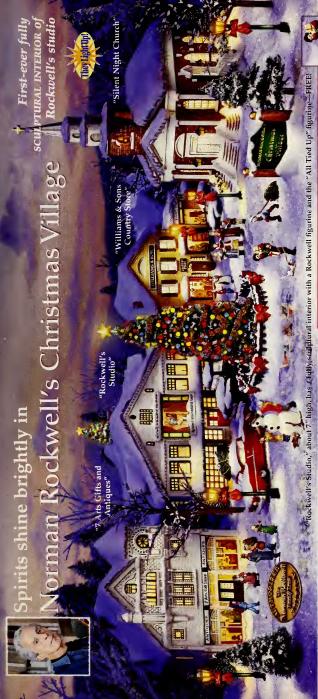
Rory, on the other hand, is the real adult. Sober, hard-working and thoughtful, she is forever having to rein in her mother's teen antics.

Given this steady drumbeat of messages about the irrelevance and foolishness of parental authority, it's not surprising to find so many parents who stand paralyzed before their children's sometimesirrational demands, their egotistical longings and confused notions of right and wrong. This state of affairs is hard on teachers who can no longer count on parents to be their allies in the often difficult process of civilizing children. And it's hard on parents themselves who are ill at ease in their own homes with the very people they love most in the world.

But most of all, it is hard on children, who in a media-saturated, fast-changing, fragmented world, are so often deprived of the adult clarity and sound judgment they crave.

Kay S. Hymowitz is a contributing editor for the City Journal, a publication of the Manhattan Institute, and author of "Ready or Not: What Happens When We Treat Children as Small Adults."

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New National
Commander
Ric Santos seeks
to elevate the
Legion's name
among a new crop
of American
veterans.

Driven to Excel

BY MATT GRILLS

IC Santos won't forget the day he learned what it means to "lead by example." He was a radioman third class petty officer on the aircraft carrier USS Enterprise CVN-65, in charge of performing a most undesirable and dangerous detail: cleaning porcelain insulators on the vessel's outboard radio antennas. The radiomen strikers weren't exactly climbing all over each other to volunteer for this daring task.

When it came time to clean the top of one particular antenna that stood 40 feet above the flight deck, which was already 60 feet

above the sea and outboard of the flight deck and catwalk – well, who *would* want to do it?

"In a similar fashion that you would climb up a water tower or land-erected radio or TV antenna, you put on a safety harness and start the climb on an antenna-attached ladder," Santos says.

Which is just what Santos did. Sure, it took courage. But he wasn't about to ask seamen to do a job he hadn't first shown them how to do himself. So up he went.

The experience neatly frames Santos' 34 years of American Legion involvement. In every task he's taken up – from organizing local police and firefighter awards

Annapolis Harbor, home of the U.S. Naval Academy, is one of many Maryland attractions Ric Santos enjoys sharing with visitors to his home state. Tom Strattman

to chairing Boys State and Oratorical committees, from post commander to department commander – Santos has rolled up his sleeves and shown others why the Legion's work is worth doing. He's a man who gets involved and follows through with as much commitment as he can muster.

Now, as the new national commander, Santos is doing his best to infect Legion members at every level with that same enthusiasm. You can bet he'll succeed, says

"Whether he's speaking to a group or one-onone, Ric talks at your level. He's never forgotten how to be a blue-cap Legionnaire."

- Past National Commander Clarence M. Bacon

Past National Commander Clarence M. Bacon ('84-'85), Santos' mentor and close friend.

"Whether he's speaking to a group or one-on-one, Ric talks at your level," Bacon says. "He's never forgotten how to be a bluecap Legionnaire. I believe he'll be a superb commander."

A Proud Marylander. After completing his military service in 1965 and moving to Maryland in 1966, Santos made the historic city of Greenbelt his home. Created in 1935 under Franklin D. Roosevelt's Resettlement Administration, Greenbelt was the first U.S. community built as a federal venture in housing. From the start, it was designed as a complete city, with businesses, schools, roads, and facilities for government and recreation.

Santos and his wife, Linda, live in one of the town's original cooperative housing units, a twostory, wood-frame building not far from Greenbelt's center. An American flag hangs outside their front door, a rare splash of color on a street of stark white home fronts and dense green forest.

Their yard backs up to acres of land administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In the winter, Santos has looked out and seen four, sometimes five, deer and other wildlife - usually right before a hunting trip where he won't spot a thing. "You want to talk about frustration," he says, grinning and shaking his head.

Hunting is just one of Santos' favorite ways to unwind. In April, he joined about 30 Legion buddies for a North Carolina golf outing - it's a trip the group makes annually.

And being a proud Marylander, Santos is always ready to take visiting friends up to the harbors in Baltimore or Annapolis, where he knows the best place to get a soft-shell crab dinner and a spot to watch ships come in.

Spend a day with Santos on his turf and it's hard to imagine the man living anywhere else.

"We're in a bed of history here," he says excitedly, counting off the reasons he loves that corner of the country: go a half-hour and you find the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Fort McHenry at Baltimore Harbor and countless sites in the nation's capital. Go west 50 miles and you're at the Antietam National Battlefield in Sharpsburg. The Gettysburg National Battlefield is only 80 miles away.

Only a few minutes from Greenbelt is Goddard Space Flight Center, where Santos landed his first job after leaving the Naval Reserve - and where he met Linda. He was a technical librarian; she was a government secretary who walked by him every day on her way to the office. It wasn't long before they were dating, and in June 1968 they married. They have three children: Betsy, 33, Lee, 31, and Steffen, 29.

"We're opposites," Santos says, his eyes sparkling. "We're like the North Pole and the South Pole,

with a family in between. If she likes her bread brown, I like mine white. She's an animal lover. I love my work. It's a lot of fun."

Don't let him fool you about the animals, though. One look at Santos playing with the family dogs - two Welsh Corgi named Dee Dee and Bear - and it's plain to see he has a hard time masking his affection.

"One night the dog wouldn't get off the bed," Linda recalls, laughing. "He's on his hands and knees: 'Dee Dee, Daddy wants to go to bed.' Not an animal person, right?"

A Traveling Man. When talking about his work, Santos is right on in saying he loves it. A person would have to, being away from home as often as he's been in his 31 years as a property insurance claims adjuster.

"I would go on catastrophe duty for hurricanes, earthquakes, tornadoes and floods and stay there for several months," Santos says. "Catastrophe duty is very tough, mentally and physically, on a person. You learn how to be compassionate to your fellow man, following catastrophic damages to their homes, businesses and personal property. There are many things



Santos and his wife, Linda, enjoy a walk with her horse, Nugget, outside a stable in Croom, Md. Tom Strattman

you can do for people in need, and other times there's no way you can comply with their call for assistance. It's tough to tell someone 'no' in those instances. So you learn to be a realist as well."

For the past couple of years, though, it's been Legion business that's kept him on the road, first as a candidate for national commander and now as national commander. But Santos says he loves the travel and the opportunities it gives him to talk with Legionnaires around the world.

"It's difficult for those doing the hard work in the trenches at the posts to always feel they're part of the group, unless they have the opportunity to meet or speak with the leadership of their organization. And they must feel that their leader is not just a guy they read about, but is someone they can communicate with directly," he says. "So I feel the national commander should make himself available to as many Legionnaires as he can. After all, I'm not just the national commander; I'm their national commander."

Clearly, members of Greenbelt Post 136 are thrilled to see one of their own in office.

"He's just one of the guys," says Jerry DuShane, 1995-1996 post commander. "If Ric meets you, he'll never forget your name."

As a leader, Santos confesses to being a bit of a perfectionist. "A lot of people don't like to work with me. See how clean my computer desk is? It's like that all the time," he points out. Those around him, though, applaud the results he gets.

Jay Mayock, past post adjutant and a friend of the national commander for 30 years, says Santos' way of getting down to brass tacks and doing business has served the post - and the Department of Maryland - in good fashion.

"You don't achieve Ric's status by just saying 'I want to be' or 'I'm putting my hat in the ring,'" Mayock says. "He totally commits and always puts his best foot forward for The American Legion."

"Santos to Enterprise." Santos is one of three children, born in New Bedford, Mass., and raised in that city and nearby Fairhaven. He grew up around the military one uncle in the Air Force, two in the Army, one in the Navy. San-



Courtesy Ric Santos

Richard J. Santos

Residence: Greenbelt, Md.

Age: 57

Family: Wife Linda; children Betsy, Lee and Steffen

Education: New Bedford High School, Mass., 1962; Class "A" Radio School, U.S. Naval Training Center, Bainbridge, Md., 1962

Military: U.S. Naval Reserve, 1961-1967; USS Enterprise, CVN 65, 1963-1965; received honorable discharge April 1967

Insurance claim representative: Greenbelt, 1970-2001

The American Legion:

Post - Sergeant-at-arms, assistant adjutant, adjutant, commander

County - Adjutant, first vice commander, commander

District - Finance officer, second-first vice commander, commander **Department** – Sergeant-at-arms, third-second-first vice commander, commander, Alternate National Executive Committeeman, National Executive Committeeman, Boys State Board of Directors, Legislative Committee, Internal Affairs Commission chairman, Veterans Affairs Commission, Budget and Finance Committee

National - Veterans Affairs & Rehabilitation Commission, National Commander's NEC Liaison Committee to the VA&R Commission, Policy Coordination and Action Group, Veterans Planning and Coordination Committee, Public Relations Committee chairman, Legislative Commission consultant

Honors: Gubernatorial appointment to Maryland Veterans Commission, 1987; gubernatorial appointment to Maryland Military Monuments Commission, 1989

Interests: Golfing, hunting



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Santos talks post business with Jay Mayock, left, and Post Adjutant Dick Dutton, right. Santos has been a member of Maryland's Greenbelt Post 136 for 34 years. Tom Strattman

tos was closest to the uncle in the Navy, who was stationed on a destroyer out of Newport, R.I. Santos' uncle took him aboard on family days and cruises, which left quite an impression on the young man.

When Santos was 16, his brother-in-law – also in the Navy – encouraged him to join the Naval Reserve. "He told me, 'Start your military service time in high school, and you'll be done sooner,'" Santos says.

So he joined at 17 and completed basic training between his junior and senior years of high school. Upon graduation in 1962, he attended radio school in Bainbridge, Md., followed by an assignment on the most awesome warship of the time: the USS *Enterprise* CVN-65, the world's first nuclear-powered aircraft carrier.

"I had the opportunity to make two Mediterranean cruises and to go around the world on it," Santos says. Operation Sea Orbit, a 30,565-mile voyage around the globe, took him to Spain, France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Lebanon, Pakistan, Australia and Brazil – quite an education for a New England boy.

He came home as friends were leaving for Vietnam. Work wasn't plentiful in New Bedford, so he headed down to Maryland to visit his sister and see what the area might have for him. Santos got a

one-bedroom efficiency in Greenbelt and was hired on at Goddard, where he soon was introduced to a woman whose husband was a past commander of Greenbelt Post 136.

On Dec. 7, 1967 – Pearl Harbor Day, he notes – Santos became a member of The American Legion.

Tomorrow's Legion. During his term as national commander, Santos wants to get back to basics with a new emphasis on the membership of younger veterans and on veterans' service programs. "Somehow the younger veterans haven't joined our ranks in great numbers, and the service programs haven't stayed as elevated as they should," he says.

Reminding America what the Legion has to offer veterans is an important step at this point in the organization's life, Santos says. In fact, it's crucial to meeting a goal he shares with many of his predecessors: reversing the membership slide.

"We've got to get a good core of Desert Storm and Balkan war veterans," he says. "We've got to get them in. The Reconnect Program is one method. Another is the Military Transition Program, which provides services to veterans at the point of separation or retirement. They need to know we're interested in them so they can experience services that The American Legion can provide."

Santos also wants to see younger veterans get a shot at leadership positions. "All you need is just one in each post. You get one, the others will follow," he says.

Sadly, though, some older veterans just aren't listening to younger ones – they hear them, but they aren't listening, Santos says. He describes an event he witnessed at one American Legion post that lost a couple of potential members.

Two young men from the local National Guard armory came into the post on a duty weekend. They asked a post member if it was possible to get some current music for the jukebox – they even volunteered to put a few CDs on themselves, since the machine had some empty slots. The answer was "no." Such actions make younger veterans feel they aren't welcome or wanted in the post, Santos says.

"The older veterans were willing to share their facility for the collection of membership dues, but not little things like the music," he says. "Anyone who says 'I do' today and goes to boot camp tomorrow is eligible for Legion membership. We've got to make them feel welcome and part of the whole picture. We must treat today's veterans in the same manner that we wanted to be treated when we joined."

More than anything, Santos wants to make sure younger generations of veterans don't miss the camaraderie he's enjoyed in The American Legion.

Smiling, he recalls the Legion softball league he and another fellow put together in the '70s. His team had a bunch of Vietnam vets and a couple of older vets. Over time, they became like family. There was a mutual admiration and respect amongst the team members, regardless if one was a veteran of World War II, Korea or Vietnam.

"We used to move each other into new homes, paint or repair each other's houses, make trips and vacations together, get together with the kids on weekends and holidays," Santos says. "We were, and still are, a close-knit group."

He pauses, then says quietly, "That's what it's all about."

Matt Grills is an assistant editor for The American Legion Magazine.

Article design: Doug Rollison

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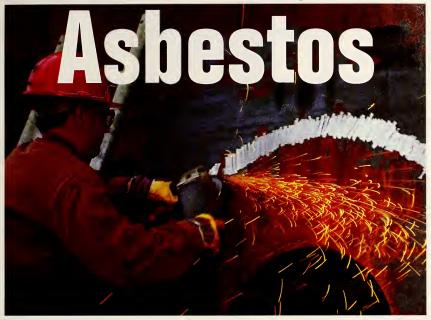
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Exercise can add years to life

'Never too late to start,' experts say.

BY TARA PARKER-POPE

How physically fit are you? A lifetime of wear and tear on muscles and bones makes it tough for many older Americans to gage their physical fitness. Health problems such as arthritic knees prompt some people to forego exercise altogether.

Indeed, nearly one-third of people older than 55 are essentially sedentary and only one in four older adults gets regular exercise. These are troubling statistics when you consider that people in their later years may have the most to gain from exercise.

Physical fitness doesn't just improve quality of life; it's been shown to actually prolong life. In a study involving 10,000 men, researchers at the Dallas-based Cooper Institute tracked fitness using two treadmill tests five years apart. The bottom line: the men who had low fitness were twice as likely to die as those who were moderately fit.

Perhaps more importantly, the study showed that it's never too late to improve fitness. Men who started the study with a poor level of fitness were still able to lower their risk of dying by 44 percent if they significantly improved their fitness by the second test.

And seemingly minor improvements pay big dividends. For every minute longer the men could stay on the treadmill during the second exam compared with their first exam, they reduced their risk of early death by 8 percent.

You don't need sophisticated exercise testing facilities to gage your fitness. To find out where you stand, simply count the number of hours each week you take part in a moderate level of physical activity, says Walter Ettinger, a physician and author of "Fitness After 50." Don't forget to include the exercise involved in daily tasks, such as walking the dog or working in the garden.

If your total adds up to five or more hours a week you fall into the high-fitness category. Three hours a



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week on moderate physical activities puts you in the middle-fitness category. If you spend an hour or less each week engaged in moderate activity, then you aren't very fit.

The difference between that one hour a week of exercise and five hours a week is startling. A low-fit person is five times as likely to die from heart disease as someone in the high-fitness group. Simply moving from unfit to moderately fit will markedly lower your risk for cancer and heart disease.

Despite the benefits, exercise can be risky if you have certain health problems, so always discuss any new exercise program with your doctor.

Living Well is a section designed to provide general information to our readers. It is not intended to be, nor is it, medical advice. Readers should consult their personal physicians when they have health problems

Tara Parker-Pope writes a weekly health column for The Wall Street Journal and is the author of "Cigarettes: Anatomy of an Industry from Seed to Smoke."

Test your fitness

Researchers at California State University at Fullerton have developed simple exercises to do at home to help gage fitness. Scores for men are listed first, and women's scores are in parentheses. The scores represent the average for each age group. Even if your scores are high, don't rest on your laurels. The health benefits of exercise can disappear in a matter of weeks once you stop.

Two-Minute Marching Step. Find the point that falls midway between your kneecap and hip bone, and mark that height on the wall. Start stepping in place, lifting your knees to the measured height. Count how many times your right knee reaches the target height during a two-minute period. Use the back of a chair for balance.

Ages 60-64: 87-115 steps (75-106) Ages 65-69: 86-116 steps (73-107) Ages 70-74: 80-110 steps (68-101) Ages 75-79: 73-109 steps (68-100)

Six-Minute Walk. Count how far you can go during a brisk, sixminute walk. If you can't use a jogging track, measure out a 50-yard course and do laps.

Ages 60-64: 610-735 yards (545-660) Ages 65-69: 580-700 yards (500-635) Ages 70-74: 545-680 yards (480-615) Ages 75-79: 470-640 yards (430-585)

Arm Curls. Sit in a chair with your back straight and feet shoulder-width apart. Take an 8-pound weight (5 pounds for women) in your dominant hand with your arm hanging down beside the chair. Count how many times you can curl it in and up toward your shoulders in 30 seconds.

Ages 60-64: 16-22 curls (13-19) Ages 65-69: 15-21 curls (12-18)

Ages 70-74: 14-21 curls (12-17) Ages 75-79: 13-19 curls (11-17)

30-Second Chair Stand. Place a chair against a wall and sit with your back straight, feet flat and arms crossed against the chest. Stand and sit as many times as you can in 30 seconds.

Ages 60-64: 14-19 times (12-17) Ages 65-69: 12-18 times (11-16)

Ages 70-74: 12-17 times (10-15) Ages 75-79: 11-17 times (10-15)

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Diseases potentially prevented by vaccinations kill thousands of adults each year in the United States.

BY DR. JOHN R. FEUSSNER

With flu season approaching, adults should make certain they have received all their recommended vaccinations. A proper immunization program is just as important for adults as it is for children. Diseases that

could be prevented by vaccinations kill thousands of adults each year in the United States. For example, flu and pneumonia are leading causes of death among older Americans. Additionally, diseases that may be mild in children and younger adults can be life-threatening in older adults.

Flu and Pneumonia. The Centers for Disease Control and Preven-

tion encourages adults to be immunized against a number of infectious diseases, including flu and pneumonia. Because flu viruses change, you should receive a flu shot each year. The best time to receive your flu shot is in the fall, preferably by mid-November, so your body has time to build its defense against the disease. Some people think the flu shot "gives me the flu." That's not the case, although the vaccination is not 100-percent effective. People 65 and older should also receive a pneumonia vaccination at the same time they get flu shots, if they have never had one. If a person received his first pneumonia shot more than five years ago and before he turned 65, he should get a second dose.

The benefits of immunization go well beyond preventing disease. A recent VA study found that the routine annual flu vaccination of all working adults could save the nation as much as \$1.3 billion a year by reducing expenses for health care, lost work time and other costs. Another research project found pneumonia vaccination significantly decreased hospitalizations and death rates among elderly patients with chronic lung disease.

Other Vaccinations. The CDC also recommends that adults be immunized against tetanus, diphtheria and chickenpox. Every 10 years, adults should receive a Td booster shot. The shot will protect against tetanus bacteria, which can enter the body through breaks in the skin during routine activities. If a person cannot remember when he had his last tetanus booster, he should ask his doctor if he is overdue.

Chickenpox is a highly contagious disease that is mild in children but can be much more severe in adults. People who have had chickenpox will not contract it again. The CDC recommends two doses of vaccine for people 13 or older who have never had chickenpox. Some people who had chickenpox as children develop shingles as adults later in life. The two diseases are caused by the same virus, known as varicella, which can reactivate to cause shingles after being dormant for years. Shingles can be very painful and can scar the skin permanently. In rare cases,

shingles can affect the face and

even the eyes.

The VA Cooperative Studies Program is now testing a new shingles vaccine at 16 VA medical centers and six other hospitals across the country. More than 38,000 veterans and their spouses who are age 60 or more and have never had shingles have volunteered to participate. The department will share the results once the effec-

tiveness of the vaccine is determined.

People traveling outside the United States may need a variety of vaccinations depending on the season. Before traveling, ask a doctor about needed vaccinations. For additional specific information you may wish to check the CDC's Web site at www.cdc.gov/travel/vaccinat.htm.

This Web site also has information about the special concerns regarding immunizations for pregnant women who may travel outside the country. Before leaving, women should ask their doctors about the benefits and potential risks of the recommended vaccinations. Of course, all pregnant women should be up to date on their routine immunizations.

Keep Immunization Record. As with any health program, a person should talk with his doctor about needed vaccinations. The doctor will have a record of the types and dates of the shots received. But a person should keep his own personal record. That way it's certain all necessary immunizations are taken care of, and the chances of leading a healthy life are increased.

Living Well is a section designed to provide general information to our readers. It is not intended to be, nor is it, medical advice. Readers should consult their personal physicians when they have health problems

John R. Feussner, M.D., is chief research and development officer of the Veterans Health Administration.

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Federal mismanagement

A Senate Governmental Affairs Committee report has described a series of major management and work-force problems that could jeopardize veterans' health care and national security.

Titled "Government at the Brink," the well-documented report calls DoD finances "a shambles... It wastes billions of dollars each year and cannot account for much of what it spends." DoD was third on the list of the 10 worst examples of federal mismanagement. The report also stated that the military services face recruiting problems, including the loss of intelligence analysts, computer programmers and pilots.

The Department of Veterans Affairs was eighth on the list of management problems. An Inspector General's report found that veterans' health was put at risk in one hospital where food was kept next to an area where hazardous waste and biohazard carts were stored. In the long term, a national nursing shortage could adversely affect efforts to improve patient safety at VA medical facilities and could put veterans at risk, the report said.

Luxurious punishment

Federal prisoners – including those on death row – can bide their time watching cable TV, including the premium channels of HBO, Showtime and Cinemax. In fact, almost \$180 million was spent last year on cable TV in federal prisons. Or if bored, prisoners can rent videos.

"While some of our children go to school in overcrowded, portable trailers without computers, criminals incarcerated in our federal prisons enjoy luxurious facilities complete with cable television," said Rep. Ric Keller, R-Fla. His "No-Frills Prison Act of 2001" would outlaw federal spending on cable TV as well as video rentals for prisoners. "Federal prisoners need not be coddled with frivolous luxuries at the expense of the American taxpayer," he said.

Supporting the congressman's proposal, the *Florida Times-Union* said the purpose of criminal justice should be to punish lawbreakers, not taxpayers. It suggests that criminals read books to pass the time.



The General Assembly meets for the final session during the AIDS conference at U.N. Headquarters in June. AP

U.N. fights AIDS without testing fighting forces

The United Nations conducted a global conference on AIDS and wants to spend billions of dollars on the disease. But it still won't test its own troops for the HIV virus before deploying them. Buried in the U.N.'s global declaration against AIDS was the following paragraph: "By 2003, ensure the inclusion of HIV/AIDS awareness and training, including a gender component, into guidelines designed for use by defense personnel and other

personnel involved in international peacekeeping operations while also continuing with ongoing education and prevention efforts, including pre-deployment orientation, for these personnel." This is a bureaucratic way of saying that in two years U.N. soldiers will be educated about AIDS, but they won't be tested for it. The United Nations continues to insist that national governments test their own troops before sending them on U.N. operations.

Burden of proof

After five years and \$350,000, Elaine Donnelly of the Center for Military Readiness is still fighting a libel lawsuit that contends she ruined the career of Lt. Carey Lohrenz, a former female F-14 pilot. Donnelly denies the charge, insisting she was drawing attention to a double standard in naval aviation designed to benefit the careers of Lt. Kara Hultgreen and Lohrenz.

Lohrenz filed the lawsuit after Hultgreen, 29, died in a crash while attempting to land an F-14 on a carrier in October 1994. Lohrenz's suit claimed Donnelly's accusations about double standards in the training of males and females ruined her career. Lohrenz sued the Navy and left with a financial settlement.

The Lohrenz suit has dragged on in part, according to Donnelly, because Navy lawyers have intervened in the case in an effort to control what retired naval officers may say. The Navy said it was making sure those officers do not disclose national security information. Donnelly filed suit against the Navy, contending such intervention was illegal and was designed to prevent the officers from helping her side of the case. The suit was thrown out 18 months after it was filed, further delaying the case. Donnelly called the Lohrenz suit frivolous and a threat to free speech. She said the Navy's intervention threatened her constitutional rights of due process, and that she will have to raise another \$150,000 to prevail. Still, she said she has "more than enough evidence and testimony" to win.

A judge can throw the suit out or order it to go to trial, Lohrenz's attorney Susan Barnes said. She remains confident of victory if the case goes to trial and insisted that the evidence shows Lohrenz was qualified to fly the F-14 and that she did not benefit from any double standard.

- By Cliff Kincaid





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'Old Ironsides' tours nation

Beginning this school year, educators and students, service members, historians and civic groups will experience firsthand an impressive piece of naval history: the USS Constitution.

The Constitution is the oldest commissioned warship afloat in the world today. Built in the Boston shipyards in 1794, the Constitution was first put to sea in 1798. The ship is most famous for its role in the War of 1812, where she earned the name "Old Ironsides."

"'Old Ironsides' Across the Nation" is a six-year program conducted by the USS Constitution and the USS Constitution Museum that focuses on education

and public relations. Weeklong tours to cities in each of six designated U.S. regions consist of school visits, educator workshops and public demonstrations provided by museum staff members and the ship's crewmembers. Periodic performances by the museum's livinghistory actor will offer a glimpse at the experiences of a 19th-century sailor. Visits are coordinated with local resources, including potential host museums, Navy recruiters, local Navy League chapters, local schools and area Navy installations. During the summer months, the Constitution will conduct turnaround cruises, saluting the previous year's focus region. Cruise participants will be chosen via a lottery conducted by the museum.

Such was the case for residents in Charlestown, Mass., earlier this year. Lottery registration was conducted at



A life ring from the U.S. Navy destroyer USS Ramage frames the USS Constitution in July 1997. "Old Ironsides" will tour cities throughout the United States for the next six years. U.S. Navy

American Legion Bunker Hill Post 26. Winners received invitations for a special "Salute to Charlestown" turnaround cruise in June. The voyage served as a "thank-you" to Charlestown residents for the support and care given to the historic ship during its years there.

Constitution tours have a history. From 1931 to 1934, "Old Ironsides" toured the nation and visited 90 ports, attracting a record visitation of more than 4.5 million people. From Maine to California, schoolchildren donated pennies totaling \$154,000 for the ship's restoration, then waited in long lines to set foot on the Constitution's deck.

For more information, contact Margaret Otte, the museum's national outreach coordinator, at (617) 426-1812, ext. 131, or visit one of the following Web sites: www.USSConstitutionmuseum.org or www.ussconstitution.navy.mil.

tal Commission and

is a section leader in

his high school's

band. The 17-year-

old Wilson also was

named the Bausch



Fan mail for the troops

Schools, churches, campus groups, veterans organizations and auxiliaries across the nation are sending fan mail to U.S. troops at home and abroad for this year's Christmas Military Mail campaign.

The Friends of Our Troops program, a continuation of the Vietnam Mail Call established in 1965, has served and supported U.S. soldiers, sailors, Marines, airmen and Coast Guardsmen for more than 35 years. Over the years, millions of pieces of fan mail have boosted the morale of U.S. troops around the world.

Hundreds of participants nationally - including 20 American Legion posts and auxiliaries – sent more than 1,000 cards and letters in the most recent campaign. The Military Mail campaign is an outstanding activity for Legion posts and auxiliaries, as well as for families, schools and scout troops. To learn more about the program, visit the Web site at www.militarymail.org. To participate in the program, send your name and address to Friends of Our Troops, P.O. Box 65408, Favetteville, NC 28306.

Georgia youth elected Boys Nation president

Evan Wilson of Roswell, Ga., was elected 2001 Boys Nation president on July 24.

The son of Fred and Kathy Wilson, the incoming senior at Roswell High School is a member of the Junior National Rowing Team. He is a participant in the Governor's Honors Program, president of the Beta Club, president of the Environmen-



and Lomb Science Award Honoree in May.

At Boys State, Wilson distinguished himself by serving as the city, county and state party chairman and served in the House of Representatives. He plans to attend Princeton University, study physics and pursue a career as a research scientist.

Ninety-six young men from 48 states attended the 56th session of American Legion Boys Nation July 20 to 28.

Free to U.S. Vets of All Services Plus All Family Members Over Age 50

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Continuing Smith's work key to building membership

It's time to stow away the membership slide and erect a membership ladder, The American Legion's leading candidate for national commander told incoming Legion department and district leaders July 28 at the 38th Annual National Membership Workshop in Indianapolis.

Ric Santos, elected national commander on Aug. 30, said the downward spiral of membership has halted, thanks to the hard work and dedication of National Commander Ray G. Smith and his crew of department commanders, district commanders and vice commanders, membership chairmen and "Ray's Aces."

Santos, of Maryland, then outlined his 2002 membership goals. He and his team intend to increase membership to 2.8 million, increase Legion presence in communities by adding 100 new posts, take a more aggressive approach to post charters submitted for cancellation and expand the Reconnect and Military Transition programs.

Speaking of his year as commander, Smith said, "It has been a year I will remember always, and I owe it all to you."

- James V. Carroll

Join us!

The American Legion is an organization of veterans serving other veterans, their families and communities. The Legion serves as the veteran's voice in Washington, fighting for the benefits and rights of those who served our country in the armed forces.

Membership eligibility is based upon dates set forth by Congress. Eligibility dates are from 4/6/17 to 1/11/11/8; 1/27/41 to 12/31/46; 6/25/50 to 1/31/55; 2/28/61 to 5/7/75; 8/24/82 to 7/31/84; 12/20/87 to 1/31/90; and from 8/2/90 to present.

For information concerning membership, write The American Legion, Attn. Membership Division, P.O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, IN 46206-1055; call (800) 433-3318; e-mail ia@legion.org; or visit the Web site at www.legion.org/ membership/membership.htm.

Legionnaire's gift saves life

"Linda's quite

courageous.

She's my angel."

- Liver recipient

Wayne Williams

Legionnaire Linda Anderson believes in giving of herself to help others. The Piscataquis County and Guilford, Maine, Post 119 commander, recently donated 60 percent of her liver to Guilford resident Wayne Williams.

Live-liver donations are a new

procedure. Anderson is only the 14th person to make such a donation at the New England Medical Center in Boston. The liver is the only organ in the human body that will rejuvenate itself.

A genetic match is not necessary for liver donation, but the blood type must match. She and Williams went through extensive testing to make sure her liver was the right size and that all arteries would match. The procedure is not without its risks, and some doctors caution against it.

Williams, 62, has rheumatoid arthritis and was given an experimental drug for the condition about 10 years ago that caused him to develop cirrhosis. In July 2000, his liver shut down completely, and his name was added to a donor list for a new one. At that time, more than 15,000 people were waiting for liver transplants from cadavers.

In January, Williams was told about the new live-liver donation

procedure. Then one day, Anderson asked how Williams was doing. He jokingly responded that he'd be fine if only someone would give him a liver. When Anderson found out hers was a match, she simply told Williams, "I'll give you my liver."

Five months later, after several trips to Boston, it was determined that the procedure was possible. In the meantime, Anderson sold raffle tickets for three American flag sets and managed to

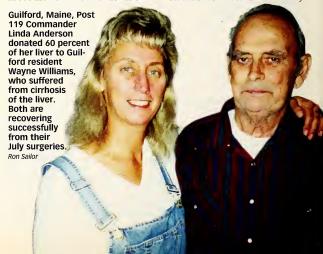
raise \$376 toward travel expenses for Williams and herself.

"I'm not doing this for the recognition," Anderson said. "The way I see it is this man has worked hard all his life to raise a family. Now it's time for he and his wife to retire and enjoy life. If the miracles of science can offer him a better life and I have the means to help, why not?"

The July 24 operation was a success. A few days later, doctors told Williams if he had not had the surgery when he did, he would not have survived another six months.

"Linda's quite courageous," Williams said. "She's my angel. God sent her to me just in time."

Maine Department Adjutant
 Ron Sailor contributed to this story.



54 October 2001

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Records set at rifle competition

Seven records were broken or tied as junior air rifle competitors met Aug. 13 at the Olympic Training Center in Colorado

Springs, Colo., for the 11th annual American Legion National Junior Air

Rifle championships.

Matthew Rawlings of Wharton, Texas, and Aaron Phillips of Comer, Ga., both shot perfect scores of 800 in the Precision Prone competition. Rawlings also set a new record of 781

out of a possible 800 in the Precision Stand-

ing competition.

Rawlings, who was sponsored by Wharton Legion Post 87, earned the National Champion Precision award. He won the overall Precision championship with 2,471.8 points, which put him alone atop the all-time list of

Vicki Goss of Palmyra, Pa., fired a 2,464.1 to finish second in the Precision championship at The American Legion's 2001 National Air Rifle Championships in Colorado Springs, Colo. Ron Engel

scoring in the Precision Category.

Brandon Green of Poplarville, Miss., set a new record with a 783 in the Sporter Prone competition on his way to capturing the 2001 Sporter Division crown. Green, a member of the Bogalusa, La., High School Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps shooting team, was sponsored by Magic City Legion Post 24. Green's total score of 2,291.4 of a possible 2,509 placed him second on the all-time top five scores in the Sporter category.

The American Legion Junior Shooting Sports competition begins with postal rounds involving more than 1,250 competitors and progresses to the finals in Colorado Springs for the top 30 shooters nationwide.

The tournament provides young competitive shooters an opportunity to test their marksmanship in Olympic-style competition with other junior shooters throughout the nation. The sport is the fastest-growing youth program sponsored by The American Legion.

Defense Department seeks Korean War MIA families

The Department of Defense seeks relatives of Korean War MIAs to inform them of efforts to recover their loved ones and to collect blood samples from family members to be used to make DNA identifications.

Contact with most families of Korean War MIAs has been lost over the

course of 50 years. DoD has located only about 36 percent of the families of more than 8,100 service members still missing from the Korean War.

If you are a family member or

know a family member who is in the maternal bloodline of an unaccounted-for service member, contact one of the following military casualty offices: the Army at (800) 892-2490, the Air Force at (800) 531-5501, the Navy at (800) 443-9298 or the Marines at (800) 847-1597.

DoD's worldwide search in Southeast Asia, in North Korea and in the jungles of the South Pacific brings back the remains of MIAs almost every week. This vital DNA link to their families may well be the sole piece of evidence that will ultimately lead to identification.

Vets' stories inspire students

Thanks to four Legionnaires from Dallas Post 453 – Past Commander Bob Elkins and members Roland McDuffie, Pat Mars and Sam Elizalde – high school teach-

ers in the Dallas Independent School District are supplementing this year's curriculum with *The American Legion Magazine*.

Last fall, the group ordered 500 copies of the Korean War-themed September 2000 issue for the school administration to distribute.

While some of the copies went to Dallas-area elementary, middle-school and high-school libraries for general reference, the majority of the magazines were utilized in U.S. history classrooms as part of their Korean-War curriculum. School officials asked social-studies teachers at four area high schools to perform a preliminary study last school year using the magazine as a teaching tool. They wanted to know whether children enjoyed reading true stories by

war veterans and whether the children actually learned more about the Korean War by reading firsthand accounts.

The magazine was a hit with

the students and teachers for its unique report on the Korean War, according to school officials.

Elkins, McDuffie, Mars and Elizalde said they were more than happy they could help.

"Our goal was to help educate children," Elizalde said. "The return we got back was very

positive – the kids loved it. The articles gave a broader view of the war than their history books and opened lots of eyes. We wanted the kids to look at veterans differently. We wanted them to be able to relate better to their relatives who served in the military, especially during wartime."

School officials said the teachers consider the magazine an "excellent supplemental resource to help students gain a better understanding of the Korean War."



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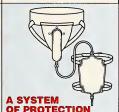
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Commander visits museum

Even if you've never been an airborne and special-operations soldier, you can experience the thrill and adventure by visiting the Airborne and Special Operations Museum in Fayetteville, N.C.

The 59,000-square-foot building is highlighted by a 5,000-square-foot, five-story lobby with two fully deployed parachutes, one a World War II-era T-5 round chute and the other a modern MC-4 square chute. The parachutes represent the development of airborne infiltration and the soldiers who support one another in the combined airborne and special operations community.

Exhibits move visitors through time, starting in 1940 with the conception of the U.S. Army Parachute Test Platoon and ending with today's airborne and special operations units. Exciting military action movies shown in the 235-seat theater show operations in a way never before experienced by the public.

The "Pitch, Roll and Yaw Dome" features a motion simulator that physically moves seated viewers up to 18 degrees in concert with the film. Suddenly, a larger-than-life film provides visitors with an extreme taste of what the airborne are trained to do.

Aug. 16 marked the airborne's 61st anniversary and the museum's first anniversary. Even before the end of its first year, the museum welcomed 250,000 visitors, including National Commander Ray G. Smith.

"It's outstanding," Smith said following his visit. "It's an excellent place for young people to learn what veterans have done to preserve our freedom."



The Airborne and Special Operations Museum's lobby exhibit features two fully deployed parachutes, one a World War II-era T-5 round chute and the other a modern MC-4 square chute. Airborne and Special Operations Museum

Both the military and civilian communities are served by the Airborne & Special Operations Museum. The only museum dedicated to all Army airborne and special operations units, it provides a place for educational programming and research and helps airborne and special operations soldiers share their unique world. The museum recognizes history, equipment, technology, legend, art and weaponry.

For more information, visit the museum's Web site at www.asomf.org/home.htm.

PUFL members gain benefits

Members in good standing with The American Legion are eligible for the Paid-Up-For-Life membership, which entitles members and their families to Legion benefits for life. Based on a member's age and the current dues of the member's local post, lifetime membership fees are calculated.

Significant benefits are provided in the Legion's PUFL membership program. Participants no longer pay annual membership dues, even when annual dues increase. PUFL members receive uninterrupted help in obtaining their medical, educational and insurance benefits from the Department of Veterans Affairs, as well as assistance in preparing their VA claims. They also receive other member benefits for life, including discounts on prescriptions, eye care and travel services. PUFL members receive a lifetime subscription to The American Legion Magazine and are issued a PUFL membership card that provides access to American Legion posts nationwide.

As an added incentive, The American Legion is offering a special flag kit to all members who apply for PUFL membership by Dec. 31. Details of this offer are included in members' renewal packets or can be obtained by calling National Headquarters at (800) 433-3318.

California post supports winning color guard

For the past seven years, Post 12 in Selma, Calif., has supported its local Marine Corps JROTC Color Guard with scholarships, academic and leadership awards and membership in the MCJROTC Booster Club. In return, the cadets have provided close to 10,000 hours of community service per year: veterans' burial details with full military honors, services to rest homes and veterans organizations, and cere-

monial units for community events. Uniformed cadets teach morals, ethics and future goals to local eighth-graders.

The cadets, trained by retired Marine Corps Master Sgt. Philip "Max" Merghart of Post 12, have won first place four years running at the American Legion U.S. National Championship Drill Meet. Since 1998 they have won nine first-place and "best of service" tro-

phies, three second-place trophies, two third-place trophies and one fifth-place trophy. These Marine cadets have also competed at the National Invitational Drill Meet in Colorado Springs at the U.S. Air Force Academy, where they have won the color-guard championship title for the past four consecutive years. The drill meet pits the high-school unit against colleges, universities and the service academies.

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The new U.S. Mint silver dollar is much rarer than the Golden Sacagawea Dollar. And, the extraordinary 2001 Silver Buffalo Proof is even more scarce. This extraordinary issue features the beautiful frosted American Buffalo against a mirror-like background on the obverse. On the reverse, the classic Indian Head design stands out in striking relief.

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The issue's price will be set at \$35.00 for each proof. But, during this limited advance striking period, this .999 pure silver clad masterpiece can be yours for only \$9.95. But you must act NOW to take advantage of this Special Advance Striking offer. The edition is limited to 10,000 pieces worldwide. THIS MAY BE THE ONLY OPPORTUNITY YOU WILL EVER HAVE TO ACOUIRE THIS SILVER MASTERPIECE!

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How to use your National Reunion Registry

The National Reunion Registry handles all reunion information services for The American Legion Magazine. NRR, a division of Military Information Enterprises, Inc., is a private organization that pro-vides information about reunions, helps veterans locate old buddies and offers other special benefits to veterans and their families.

NRR maintains contact information on thousands of reunions and provides this information free of charge to veterans.

There are several ways to register reunions or check reunion list-ings with the National Reunion Registry. Please contact the organization directly by writing to NRR/Reunions, PO Box 17118, Spartanburg, SC 29301, by faxing (864) 595-0813 or via e-mail at information@militaryUSA.com. Due to the large number of reunions, NRR cannot accept phone requests for reunion information.

To register a reunion, you should include the complete name of the organization and branch of service with your request. The request should

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Using the Internet is the quickest, most accurate way to access the reunion registry. You may check to see if your buddies are planning a reunion by visiting NRR's Web site at www.MilitaryUSA.com. To promote the best accuracy and fastest process when listing your reunion, complete the Reunion Registration Form available on the Web site.

Locating a Buddy

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538-7189; 17th Trans Det, Alton, IL, 10/6-8, David 538-7189; 71m I rass Det, Alton, IL, 10/6-8, David Albers, (203) 929-5764, ceramit/14@aol.com; 25th Inf Div Assn, Honolulu/Schofield Barracks, Honolulu, 10/3-7. Reunion Planner, tropictim/20ol.com; 27th Inf Div 102nd OM Rgt, Ellerville, NY, 10/2-5, Mike Zuckerman, 1954) 742-678: 29th Radio Mobile Sugn, Bioxi, MS, 11/1-12, Bob Rennick, (704) 435-0555, rennick@ vrute.net; 23dG Gen Hosp, Memphis, TN, 10/4-6, Janies Regan, (856) 303-8933; 35th AAA Bn, St. Louis, 10/4-7 V Variet, 2070, 844-2305 7, V. Yanisch, (320) 843-3205

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96th FA Bn Korea, Albuquerque, NM, 10/13-17, N. Vanderhave, (973) 538-7189; 1326d Cbt Eng, Venice, Ft. 10/18-21; Eugene Recknagel, (262) 547-4771; 138th Eng Cbt Bn, Savannah, GA, 10/16-19, Robert Akins, (913) 772-8-9176, rastkins,@Unworth. (07):13-14. N. Vanderhave, (973) 585-7189; 160th Eng C Bn, 13/16, 1637 Mred Bn, Atlanta, 10/12-1, 100-100, Mikles, (903) 781-776, wilkesia-670, wilkesia-6703/781-776, wilkesia-670, wilkesia-6703/781-776, wilkesia-670, wilkesia-6703/781-776, wilkesia-670, wilkesia-67 (803) 781-7726, wilkesja@mindspring.com

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321st Sig Bn. Biloxi, MS. 10/18-21, Donald Romig, (504) 835-1024, jmromig@earth.net; 342nd Armd FA Bn. Lincoln, NE. 10/11-13, Chall Allred, (208) 678-5297, callred@pmt.org; 361st Eng Const Bn. Asheville, NC, 10/19-20, Delmer Wallen Sr., (423) 247-3933, wallen@chartert.net; 322nd Sig Co., Washington, 10/26-28, Bob Doerr, (618) 867-2577, Washington, 10/26-28, Bob Doerr, (618) 867-2579, Washington, 10/4-7, Lawrence Lockard, (660) 747-8549

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793rd MP Bn, Niagara Falls, NY, 10/10-13, Frank De Rosa, (847), 255-3977; 811th Tank Dest Bn, Chillicothe, DH, 10/5-7, John True, (740) 773-1225; 829th Sig Serv Bn C Co, San Dlego, 10/18-22, Charles Dorlman, (800) 434-8156, chukaru@earthink.net, 931st Sig Bn Awn, Rapid City, SD, October, Troy Marshall, (407) 277-1864, army93 isb@aol.com; 945th FA Bn, Myrde Beach, SC, 10/18-21, George Buck, (515) 255-4629; 1884th Eng Avn Bn, Savannah, 64, 10/21-26, James Pallazza, (352) 854-962; jimbet@mfi.net; 1901st Eng Avn Bn, Branson, MO,

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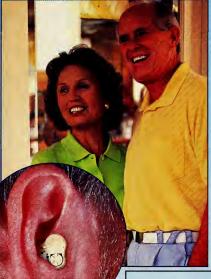
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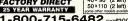
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Working-Class Wisdom

Too bad that all the people who know how to run the country are busy driving taxicabs and cutting hair.

- George Burns

Walk Before You Talk

Before criticizing a man, you should walk a mile in his shoes. That way, when you criticize him, you're a mile away and you've got his shoes.

- Submitted by Allan Pitcock, Granville, Ohio

No Smoking

A man asked a nun if she was permitted to smoke. "No," she replied. "One habit is enough."

Submitted by Mark L. Totten, Belle, W.Va.

Long Shot

A golfer told his caddy, "I'm eager to make this shot. That's my mother-in-law up there on the clubhouse porch."

that canceled this morning."

"That's more than 300 yards," the caddy said doubtfully. "You'll never hit her from here."

- Submitted by Donald E. Ray, Vancouver, Wash.

What Do You Know?

An old man visited the doctor's office. After a physical exam, the doctor looked at him and said, "I can't find anything. You should live to be 90."

The old man replied, "But, doctor, I am 90." "See!" the doctor said. "What did I tell you?"

Submitted by John W. Dospoly, Pottstown, Pa.





Asbestos Cancer Hits Former Sailors

- Many who served aboard ship in the 1940's, 1950's, 1960's and early 1970's were exposed to asbestos.
- Due to the long latency period of these diseases, some are <u>now</u> coming down with asbestos-related cancers.



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